

AN ARCHITECTURE OF EMPIRE:
THE GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS OF JOHN CAMPBELL
IN NEW ZEALAND

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JOHN CAMPBELL, F.R.I.B.A.
1857 - 1942

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ABSTRACT

A study of the architecture of John Campbell (1857-1922), an architectural employee of the New Zealand Government between 1890 and 1922. Campbell's early designs in the 'Queen Anne' style are discussed and the increasing use of Baroque elements in his work is traced as he establishes a new government style of architecture throughout New Zealand, namely, Imperial Baroque. The buildings Campbell designed in that style are then discussed and the same search for a new government style traced in the design of one particular building type, post offices. Finally, Campbell's designs for Parliament Buildings are discussed. Campbell emerges as an inventive and intuitive designer whose work, by virtue of its distinctively British character, is expressive of New Zealand's former status as a member nation of the British Empire.

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The discovery that John Campbell has no descendants and no surviving relatives who knew him well, was the first problem encountered in piecing together an account of Campbell's early life. There was a further difficulty: the name 'John Campbell'! The large number of people named J. or John Campbell listed in directories and other sources compounded difficulties in writing an account of his early career. I am especially grateful, therefore, to Mrs Rosemary Entwisle who was able to provide some leads as to the whereabouts of Campbell's relatives and to those relatives who shared with me what knowledge they had of John Campbell, namely, Mr D. S. G. Marchbanks, Mr P. J. Hunt, Mr D. J. Campbell and Mr J. Campbell. Similarly, I am grateful to all those people who replied to letters requesting information about the identity and whereabouts of the descendants of Claude Ernest Paton and Llewelyn Lincoln Richards and finally to Claude Paton's daughter, Mrs Mouat,

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The archivists at National Archives cheerfully responded to all my requests for documents and gave me permission to systematically search for material amongst the stacks myself. I am also grateful to the staff of other libraries and institutions: the R.I.B.A. Library, London; the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments London; the State Library, Melbourne; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the staff of Plan Records, Ministry of Works and Development, Wellington; the Ministry of Works and Development Library and the Ministry's offices throughout New Zealand; the Government Printing Office Library; Alexander Turnbull Library; General Assembly Library, the public libraries in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin; the University of Auckland School of Architecture Library; the Victoria University of Wellington Library; the James Hight and Fine Arts Libraries (University of Canterbury); the Hocken Library and Canterbury Museum Library. I am also grateful to the photographic department of the University of Canterbury for their assistance in reproducing some of the illustrations.

The many people who provided specific information about John Campbell and his work, either in conversation or by letter, are listed in the bibliography. I am most grateful to all of them.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>A.J.H.R.</u>	<u>Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives</u>
A. T. L.	Alexander Turnbull Library
N. Z. I. A.	New Zealand Institute of Architects
<u>N.Z.P.D.</u>	<u>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</u>
R. I. B. A.	Royal Institute of British Architects

NOTES

Numbers in the margins, accompanying the text, refer to the illustrations which follow each chapter.

Unless otherwise stated all archives and plans are held by National Archives.

Chapter 1

Introduction

London was the hub of the British Empire; New Zealand was part of its southern rim. But despite New Zealand's physical isolation from the mother country Britain was nevertheless the source from which new architectural fashions flowed, often via architectural journals, to the colony. Likewise British architects working in India, South Africa, Canada, Australia and the other British colonies were tied to Britain by their interest in the latest architectural achievements at 'home'. However, it was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries (when British imperial consciousness was at its zenith) that architects in the mother country sought to develop a 'modern' architectural style expressive of Britain's position at the centre of a large Empire. By the turn of the century a free interpretation of the work of Christopher Wren, John Vanbrugh, Nicholas Hawksmoor, James Gibbs and Thomas Archer was widely accepted, because of its exuberance and distinctively British character, as the architectural expression of British imperialism. The two most talented proponents of this 'Imperial Baroque' style were Edwin Landseer Lutyens (1869-1944) and Herbert Baker (1862-1946). Throughout the Empire, however, there were other less well-known

architects who adapted British imperial designs to conditions in the British colonies themselves. Working over 19,000 kilometres from 'home', a Scottish immigrant, John Campbell (1857-1942), brought the style to one of Britain's most distant territories, New Zealand.

From 1883 until 1922 Campbell worked as an architectural employee of the New Zealand Government, rising to the position of Government Architect in 1909. His architecture is therefore eloquent of New Zealand's official relationship with Britain as first a colony and later (1907) a dominion of the British Empire. However, while Campbell's buildings were once proudly associated with Britain and the imperial ideal, today a sense of regret at 'a loss of British greatness'¹ or outrage at the exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants of British colonies can sometimes impinge on appreciation of British imperial architecture. Certainly there is some disagreement about its quality. While, for example, Colin Amery acknowledges the construction of the British imperial capital of India, New Delhi, as 'the high point of British building'² in that sub-continent (and Gavin Stamp would have it as 'one of the greatest things the British have ever done'³) Jan Morris ruefully dismisses it as 'hardly architecture at all really'.⁴

Nevertheless, a renewed interest in Edwardian architecture, concomitant with the stylistic freedom of the post-modern movement, now allows us to see imperial architecture in a new light. Architects such as Campbell who continued to work in historical styles during the

twentieth-century (and thus received little recognition while modernism was the prevailing architectural idiom) are now more likely to receive the credit they deserve.

1,2 Some change in attitude toward his work is already evident. The reconstruction in 1986 of Campbell's New Plymouth Post Office clock tower (demolished in 1969) to his original design is indicative of local appreciation of his architecture.⁵ Moreover, the new tower won national acclaim when it was awarded a special category New Zealand Institute of Architects/ Pilkington Civic Design award shortly after its completion,⁶ an honour the original tower never received.

Nevertheless, one of the major threats to the preservation and appreciation of Campbell's oeuvre is ever present. Many imperial buildings with their load bearing walls and large, ornate cornices and balustrades have been identified as serious earthquake risks in New Zealand. Thus a large number of them have been demolished and many more have been mutilated in an attempt to minimise the threat to public safety. Sadly, most of the buildings constructed in Christchurch under Campbell's aegis warranted inclusion in John Wilson's Lost Christchurch, an account of 'lost', mutilated and threatened architecture in the city.⁷

By 1942 these problems must have been evident to Campbell himself. Some of the towers he had designed had collapsed in earthquakes (some others had been removed from his buildings) and the British Empire, which had inspired the architectural style in which he worked, was

soon to become the Commonwealth. Thus, on his death that year, Campbell bequeathed an architectural legacy to New Zealand which was richer and of higher quality than New Zealanders have generally appreciated.

In fact Campbell employed a wide range of architectural 'models' during the thirty-three years in which he worked as a state architect. The starting point of much of his work were the buildings of Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912). That architect's transition from Queen Anne to Imperial Baroque - from the New Zealand Chambers, 1871-3, to the Piccadilly Hotel, 1905-8 - is paralleled by Campbell's construction of such buildings as the Dunedin Gaol, 1895-6, (modelled, in part, on Shaw's New Scotland Yard, 1887-8, 1890) and the Auckland Post Office, 1908-12 (designed in the same architectural vocabulary as Shaw's last works).

Alongside Shaw's early Queen Anne designs, Campbell was also influenced by the work of other progenitors of that style, notably Edward Robert Robson (1836-1917). When Edwardian Baroque became the accepted architectural expression of British Imperialism, Campbell modelled his work on designs by leading exponents of that style, especially John Belcher (1841-1913). He also drew inspiration from the work of his professional British counterpart, namely, Sir Henry Tanner (1849-1935), Principal Architect (from 1884) and later Chief Architect (1898-1913) in H.M. Office of Works.

Campbell's choice of the Imperial Baroque style was

clearly reinforced by its use by architects who designed government buildings in the mother country. With the construction of Edward William Mountford's New Sessions House at the Old Bailey London, 1900-6; William Young's War Office, Whitehall, 1898-1906 and John Brydon's Government Buildings, Parliament Square, 1898-1912, Imperial Baroque gained recognition as the architectural style of British government. Thus it was the obvious choice for state buildings in the British colony of New Zealand.

By modelling his work on designs by Shaw and others Campbell made reference to the historic buildings which inspired architects in Britain themselves. Thus his early 'Queen Anne' designs have their ancestry in (among other sources) mid eighteenth-century English and Dutch brick architecture and his Imperial Baroque buildings make reference to English Baroque of the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries.

The necessity to adapt such British 'models' to conditions in the colonies themselves arose throughout the Empire. Different economic resources, climates and building materials required different architectural solutions. While Campbell could take inspiration in the process of adapting architectural styles developed in Britain to foreign environments in the work of Lutyens and Baker, conditions in New Zealand were vastly different from those where such acclaimed architects worked. Moreover, while the British and New Zealand climates are temperate, New Zealand has never had the

economic resources or population of the mother country or the larger colonies. Thus large public buildings were often erected in piecemeal fashion in New Zealand as the need for space arose and funds were made available, rather than as complete structures from the very beginning.

'Queen Anne' was especially well suited to such construction and colonial New Zealand conditions in general. When designing in the style Campbell could tap the new taste for small scale buildings, bare brick construction (which was comparatively cheap) and dormer windows (which capitalised on all available attic space). By contrast the grand imperial vision of British architects could not easily be transplanted in the colony. Large and ostentatious buildings were generally beyond the resources and requirements of the New Zealand Government. The one building Campbell designed on a large scale - Parliament Buildings, Wellington - was from the very beginning to be constructed in two stages and was in fact never completed. Like many colonial architects Campbell had more success in constructing comparatively small buildings and in altering existing structures to suit new requirements.

The construction of government buildings in timber also distinguishes Campbell's oeuvre from that of many other imperial architects in both Britain and her colonies. Although wooden structures were common in some parts of the British Isles the practice of constructing government buildings in timber had long since died out

there. It continued unabated in New Zealand but nevertheless Campbell, like many of his contemporaries, regarded stone as the noblest building material. Throughout his career he estimated the life span of wooden buildings at about 50 years and regarded them as only a temporary and inferior solution to the problem of housing government departments. By the end of his career he had in fact replaced many of those timber structures he designed when he was first appointed with buildings in brick.

Nevertheless, there was rich British precedent for timber construction. In designing wooden buildings Campbell imitated the half-timbering of Elizabethan structures which, like English Baroque, were regarded by his contemporaries as distinctively British. However, such designs also tapped the New Zealand tradition of the external bracing of timber buildings which stretches back to the work of Frederick Thatcher (1814-1890). Possibly Campbell was also inspired by (or designed in direct competition with) his professional counterpart in New Zealand, the Railways Architect, George Troup (1863-1941). That architect's numerous timber railway stations with battens applied over rusticated weatherboards invite comparison with Campbell's wooden buildings.

However, financial constraints and the necessity to design in timber were not the only obstacles to the realisation of the imperial architectural vision in New Zealand. Because the colony never figured large in

British imperial ambition there was less incentive than in India or South Africa to construct ostentatious buildings expressive of British supremacy. Nevertheless, the promise of a new government building was sometimes politically motivated. The sudden provision of a new court house, police station or post office was as familiar a tactic in engaging voter support in New Zealand as it was in other colonies of the British Empire. Thus a few of Campbell's buildings (such as his Hastings Post Office⁸) can be identified with overt attempts to win political power.

Campbell was doubtless aware of the political debate which sometimes surrounded the buildings he designed but he remained pragmatic and business like in approach to his job. Indeed it was this approach which enabled him to so successfully fulfil his duties as Government Architect.

Campbell's Early Life and Work

In part Campbell's business like approach may have its roots in his early upbringing. Born in Glasgow on 4 July 1857⁹ to Donald and Jean Campbell (nee Thomson¹⁰), his parent's livelihood was derived from a ship's chandlery business named Campbell and Hall.¹¹ Like many immigrants Campbell maintained a strong attachment with his home country, his Scottish heritage remaining an important touchstone throughout his life. Although he lived in New Zealand for 60 years (from 1882 until his

death on 4 August 1942¹²) he returned 'home' at least twice, once in 1901 when he had leave of absence for six months to inspect 'the latest asylums and other buildings' ¹³ in America and England and again in 1929-30 when he lived in Helensburgh for a short period.¹⁴ It is some measure of this bond with the old world (which surfaces so clearly in his architecture) that he is remembered as 'a gentleman of the old school'.¹⁵

Although Campbell's Scottish upbringing may have dampened his enthusiasm for an imperial style of architecture rooted in English not Scottish designs, the buildings of his home town were nevertheless mainly in the classical idiom. Glasgow boasts such notable Victorian Gothic buildings as George Gilbert Scott's Glasgow University, begun in 1866, and John James Burnet Senior's Stock Exchange House, 1875-7, but comparatively few buildings were erected in the style. Its associations with Anglicanism and England never augured well for its popularity in Presbyterian Scotland. Thus it is not surprising that although Campbell was fond of Gothic buildings he showed no lasting predilection for the style himself.

While the absence of Gothic buildings made for some homogeneity in a city which developed 'almost independently of the rest of the country',¹⁶ Campbell was exposed at an early age to a wide variety of architectural styles. He would have known at first hand the Greek inspired but very eclectic work of Alexander Thomson (1817-75), the Italian Baroque of, for example,

John Burnet Senior's Clydesdale Bank, St Vincent Place, 1870-3,¹⁷ and the palazzo style of, for example, J. T. Rothead's Bank of Scotland, St Vincent Place and Victoria Square, 1869.¹⁸

Despite Glasgow's isolation from developments in England it was no architectural backwater. Some of the first steel framed buildings in Britain were constructed in the city, for example, John Baird 1 and R. McConnel's, Gardner's ('The Iron Building'), 1855-6.¹⁹ Moreover, many Imperial Baroque architects were born or trained in the city such as Sir John James Burnet (1857-1938), William Young (1843-1900), James Miller (1860 -1947) and John James Joass (1868-1952).

Campbell's formal art education in Glasgow probably began with his attendance at the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy.²⁰ The establishment of the school (originally titled the Glasgow Government School of Design) was linked with government attempts to improve the standard of British design which culminated in the Great Exhibition of 1851. The school profited from a substantial bequest from an engraver named James Haldane in 1869 and in accord with the terms of that bequest changed its name to the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy. Thereafter the fine arts of painting and sculpture assumed greater importance in the school's curriculum.²¹

The evolution of a school which taught both the fine and applied arts, alongside the growth of the Arts and

Crafts Movement itself, was important in fostering the skills and craftsmanship necessary for the construction of richly ornamented buildings. Thus it is hardly surprising that the school's best-known graduate, Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928), was interested in all aspects of architecture (such as furniture design and interior decoration) as typified by his Glasgow School of Art building, 1896-99, itself. Although it is not known what Campbell studied at the school his training may well have instilled in him a rich appreciation of architectural ornamentation. The Glasgow School of Art did not, however, prepare students for careers in their chosen professions. Most classes were held between 7 -9 in the morning and 7-9 at night and students worked during the day at a wide variety of occupations ranging from engineering to painting. ²²

Primarily, Campbell's training was the responsibility of Glaswegian architect John Gordon (c. 1835-1912²³). Campbell began serving his articles with Gordon in 1872 and completed them four years later.²⁴ Thereafter, he worked for him as an assistant draughtsman until 1879.²⁵ Gordon designed many building types including churches (for example, the Primitive Methodist Church, Cross Street, Pollokshaws²⁶), schools (for example, the Crookston and Calton Public Schools²⁷) and substations (for example, 175 Scotland Street Subway Power Station²⁸). By far the most numerous of them were, however, warehouses such as the extensions to Grove Park Mills, 188 Woodside Road, 1878.²⁹ The extensions were

erected while Campbell was employed by Gordon and were constructed in red and white brick with load bearing walls, cast iron columns and timber beams. Their main block had an L plan and four storeys with an attic over one of the end bays. Although there was little architectural decoration on the main building there was a Flemish gable on a small single storey engine shed behind it. The design was primarily an example of warehouse functionalism but its Flemish gable and red and white colouration were to become hallmarks of Campbell's early work.

Gordon's warehouse and workshops 99 -107 West Nile Street, 1874³⁰ reveal more clearly his approach toward architectural ornamentation. The ground floor of the building has almost continuous glazing; the second floor has piers with incised ornament between the windows and the third and fourth stories have coupled pilasters. The design, which was until recently attributed to Thomson,³¹ invites comparison with that architect's later commercial buildings such as his Egyptian Halls, Union Street, 1871-3.³² Its use of columns to separate large glazed areas rather than small windows to puncture walls may also have been influenced by buildings such as Peter Ellis's Oriel Chambers, Liverpool, 1864. Thus although many of Gordon's industrial buildings were conservative load-bearing brick structures he was nevertheless aware of the latest architectural achievements in the design of commercial premises.

Gordon's designs for houses likewise recall Alexander

Thomson's work. His design for Oakleigh villa,³³ for example, has a central tower which rises through its entrance porch at the junction of two wings very much like the corner tower of Thomson's Thor House, High Craigmore, c. 1868.³⁴ Similarly, Gordon's villa is, like Thomson's, composed 'by means of small units [a bow window and various small gabled wings] interpenetrating each other.' ³⁵

In short Gordon, although eclectic, modelled much of his work on architecturally acclaimed buildings in Glasgow and wider afield. Although Campbell did not work in the Greek inspired architectural styles that Gordon favoured he nevertheless showed a marked preference for the classical idiom. Moreover, like Gordon he was rarely concerned with historical exactitude.

Whatever Gordon's influence on Campbell's work in New Zealand, Campbell's training with that architect can reasonably be assumed to have been thorough. Although Gordon is almost unknown today he was in his own time a respected member of his profession. He was also a President of the Glasgow Institute of Architects, an organisation which championed the cause of professional architectural standards and training. By 1890 he was sufficiently well-known for a copy of his portrait to be included in The Building News³⁶ alongside those of John Belcher (1841-1913), John McKean Brydon (1840-1901), Basil Champneys, Henry Crossland (1823-1909) and Thomas Graham Jackson (1835-1924).

Campbell's whereabouts and occupation between 1879-80

(when he left Gordon's employ) and 1882 (when he arrived in New Zealand) are unknown. Later his family established strong links with the colony. Campbell's brother, Donald Murray (who became the proprietor of the family business in 1917³⁷) joined him for a short period.³⁸ Likewise John Campbell's sister, Sarah (1868-1897³⁹), lived with him in Wellington for a time.⁴⁰ Most probably, however, Campbell had lived in Australia⁴¹ before settling in New Zealand. It is unlikely that he worked as an architect there. His own account of his architectural career omits any reference to the period.⁴² In any case his migration to New Zealand would be entirely consistent with the influx of other British architects from Australia to New Zealand such as William Barnett Armson, Robert Arthur Lawson, William Mason and many others.

On arriving in the colony in 1882 Campbell settled in Dunedin, a city of with strong Scottish connections and a lively architectural profession. In that year Maxwell Bury, Lawson, Mason and Wales, Frank W. Petre and Ross were practising in the city as well as many others.⁴³ Dunedin was an established settlement which already had a number of large government buildings such as Mason's Post Office, 1868, and Lawson's Municipal Chambers, 1878-80, as well as a host of substantial commercial buildings (such as Edinburgh House, 1865, and Lawson's Union Bank, 1879-83) and churches (such as Lawson's First Church, 1868-73 and Knox Church, completed in 1876). Fresh from Australia, however, Campbell might not have

been impressed. Contemporary opinion of Dunedin's government architecture was certainly uncompromising. N. Y. A. Wales (Snr), soon to become Campbell's first employer, pointed out that

The Architectural features of Dunedin, unlike those of Victoria and the older and more populous Australian colonies, owe their origin more to private enterprize than to the Government of the colony. ⁴⁴

He also commented that

The public buildings, such as the Post Office and Court House, Telegraph Office, Custom House, and Public Works buildings, and the Railway Offices, affect no style; but may be classed utilitarian... The functions of the New Zealand Government evidently do not embrace the development or cultivation of aesthetics in architecture. ⁴⁵

Admittedly, however, the government buildings in the other main centres were more ornate. There were already substantial buildings in Christchurch (for example, William Henry Clayton's Post Office, Cathedral Square, 1879), Wellington (for example, Parliament Buildings, begun 1865) and Auckland (for example, Edward Rumsey's Supreme Court House, 1865-8). Although Campbell may not have found these government buildings as impressive as many Australian examples, he could not have dismissed them as merely utilitarian. Moreover, as Government Architect himself he clearly did 'embrace the development or cultivation of aesthetics in architecture'.

Regardless of his opinion of New Zealand's buildings, the established character of the main centres belied an economic downturn. Although the exact date of Campbell's arrival in New Zealand is uncertain, he first set foot in

the colony in the midst of the 'long depression'. By 18 November 1882⁴⁶ he had found temporary employment with Mason and Wales in a position which unfortunately provided little scope for architectural design. On 30 December that year Wales provided Campbell with a reference testifying to his efficiency and skill as a draughtsman; his ability as an architect was seemingly untested.⁴⁷

While employed by the firm Campbell traced drawings for additions to Reid and Gray's warehouse, Dunedin.⁴⁸ He did, however, have some involvement in creating designs for two buildings; Sargood Son and Ewen's warehouse, Auckland and a manager's residence, Lauder.⁴⁹ Although the manager's residence has not been identified, the facade of Sargood Son and Ewen's warehouse, Auckland, 1883-4 (now known as Scott's building) still stands. Campbell prepared drawings for much of its detailing including some of the capitals, a pediment, the cornice and balustrade, corbelling under the oriel windows, a cap and truss and some window sills.⁵⁰ Most probably, however, the building was designed by Wales himself; sketches for it were prepared before Campbell's appointment to the firm.⁵¹ In any event the building was constructed in a fashion which was already very familiar to him (it has load bearing walls and internal iron columns) and its Baroque detailing was to become a hallmark of his own work.

Although Campbell was employed by Mason and Wales for only a few months the experience was clearly valuable.

Campbell left the firm's employ to take up a position with the Public Works Department of the New Zealand Government on 7 February 1883.⁵² The connections between Mason and Wales and the architectural division of the New Zealand Government which may have assisted him in securing the post were several: Mason was the first Superintendent of Works and Clayton (one of Mason's early partners) was the first and only Colonial Architect. Although there was no government position available in 1882 for a draughtsman or architect the Minister of Public Works, Walter Johnston, was persuaded by officials in his Dunedin Office to reopen a position which had lapsed for Campbell.⁵³

The exact nature of that post is now, however, uncertain. Campbell is variously described in departmental and published documents as a temporary draughtsman engaged in preparing 'plans, estimates, &c., for buildings',⁵⁴ a surveyor⁵⁵ and a clerk.⁵⁶ Most probably he performed duties associated with all three positions. However, it is unlikely that he spent much time on purely clerical duties. The term 'clerk' needs to be weighed with caution. Very often in the nineteenth -century it was used to denote an architect employed as a 'clerk of works'.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, it was not uncommon for draughtsmen engaged by the Public Works Department to undertake a wide range of jobs. Troup, for example, was engaged as a surveyor during roughly the same period that Campbell worked in Dunedin.

To judge by surviving documents, however, the extent

of Campbell's architectural duties must have been slim. Few architectural drawings survive from the period which can clearly be identified as his work. Most of them, such as a map indicating land to be taken by the Railway for the Waikato Bluff line, depict land surveyed for the Department of Railways.⁵⁸ Another group consists of tracings of designs originally created by the chief government draughtsman, Pierre Finch Martineau Burrows.⁵⁹ But despite the limited scope of Campbell's architectural duties in the Dunedin office, his appointment to the public service was pivotal.

In 1888 the closure of the Public Works Department was mooted and the government created a new Public Buildings Department, attached to the Defence Department, to undertake any remaining architectural work. While many officers were made redundant Campbell, like Troup, was transferred to Wellington. Troup took up his duties on 27 April 1888: Campbell, on 30 November the same year. Although Campbell's initial position within the public service is not known, on 1 April 1889 he was appointed draughtsman for the Public Buildings Department,⁶⁰ responsible to the engineer, Arthur Bell. His new position at the head of a 'sub'- department suggests a significant increase in status within the civil service. However, the design and erection of public buildings in New Zealand was now such an insignificant part of government policy that the continued existence of Campbell's department must itself have been uncertain. Accordingly, the Public Works Statement for 1888 'noted

that public works were becoming of little importance in the affairs of the colony and commented that 'this is as it should be'.⁶¹

Thus while Campbell had retained a job within the public service at a time when many employees of the Public Works Department were made redundant, his new position did not look promising. Under the Liberal Government, however, the architectural opportunities afforded him were to become far more diverse and numerous than the government first envisaged. In fact the significance of Campbell's post can only be understood in the historical context within which it was established.

The Government as Architect in New Zealand

Prior to the establishment of the Public Buildings Department the spread of government buildings throughout the colony occurred in an ad hoc fashion. The first superintendent of works, William Mason (1810-97), was appointed on 1 March 1840 and by 5 February 1841 six architects, including H. C. Holman, David Rough and Frederick Thatcher, had held the post. Each of them was responsible for 'reclamation, drainage, and roading and harbour works as well as public buildings'.⁶² Their duties were, however, largely restricted to the first areas of settlement in the North Island.

With the division of the colony into two provinces (New Ulster and New Munster) in 1846, the duties of the Superintendent of Works were divided between two

engineers, T. H. Fitzgerald in New Munster and C. W. Ligar in New Ulster. The establishment of Provincial Governments in 1853 led to the further delegation of duties. In time the provinces appointed their own architects and/or engineers responsible for public buildings. During the period of provincial government the central government retained responsibility for the maintenance and provision of their own buildings (for example, Parliament House) but post offices, customs houses, light houses and court houses, were designed by either government. Thus although Alexander Lean designed the Supreme Court building, Christchurch, 1869-74, under the aegis of the Canterbury Provincial Government, central government erected Edward Rumsey's court building in Auckland, 1865-8. This fragmentation of responsibility for public works soon resulted in regional variation in the style, size and number of government buildings throughout the colony.

However, from 1870 until their abolition in 1876 the provinces were forbidden to raise loans for public works. Funds were made available to them under the Immigration and Public Works Loan Act but construction of buildings financed in this way was supervised by central government. Their architect, William Henry Clayton (appointed in 1869) was initially responsible to the Colonial Secretary. However, in 1873 his office was attached to the newly formed Public Works Department and under its administration his activities were supervised by the Engineer-in-Charge. That post was itself subject

to administrative change. In 1878 a Resident Engineer responsible for the North Island and one in charge of the Middle (South) Island were appointed. From 1879-80 Clayton's successors, Pierre Finch Martineau Burrows (appointed on 24 August 1877 ⁶³) and Charles Edward Beatson (appointed on 1 April 1884⁶⁴) worked only for the Resident Engineer in charge of the North Island. During this period the design of buildings in the South Island passed to the District Engineers in the main centres.

Thus in 1889 there had been no one architect in charge of all government building throughout New Zealand for over a decade. The creation of a Public Buildings Department under Campbell's aegis thus ensured the central supervision of the design and construction of government buildings throughout the colony by a single architect for the first time since Clayton's death. Although the Public Buildings Department was again merged with the Public Works Department in 1890, the autonomy of the architectural division within the civil service was assured. Thus Campbell and his staff were able to work with little reference to their parent body.

Clearly such changes in the administration of the colony and the architectural division of the government precluded the establishment of a single government style in New Zealand. Accordingly in 1890 Arthur Bell recommended that all government buildings should be painted a uniform colour so that they could be easily distinguished from other buildings.⁶⁵ However, Campbell (who might well have suggested the use of a standard

colour scheme to Bell) was the first architect for twelve years with a realistic chance of establishing a recognisable government style.

The New Administration

While Campbell was in office the government made many changes to the way in which the state conducted its architectural business. Despite assurances in the past that the lowest tenders would not necessarily be accepted for government contracts they invariably were. However, under Campbell's charge the lowest bidder was not always successful in securing contracts and penalties for the late completion of work were enforced.⁶⁶ The introduction of co-operative work schemes for the construction of buildings in 1895, under which waged tradesmen agreed to work under government supervision, also ensured closer state control over the erection of buildings. Similarly, the establishment of a 'tender board' in 1909 to decide the large number of contracts which were still let to builders gave Campbell more control over the construction of his buildings.

Campbell's resolve to conduct the department's business on a more professional basis is also evident in the growth of a departmental library during his tenure. By the 1920s the library was used 'fairly frequently',⁶⁷ and Campbell had available at least two of the major British architectural journals of the day, namely The

Building News and The Builder.⁶⁸ He may also have had access to journals such as The Architect and The Studio.

The more professional conduct of the department and its increasing importance brought Campbell greater status. In 1899 his official title within the public service was changed from 'draughtsman' to 'architect' ⁶⁹ and on 1 July 1909 he was appointed Government Architect of New Zealand.⁷⁰ Although he was the first person to hold the post, he had already styled himself Colonial and even Government Architect long before 1909.⁷¹ Thus his new official title simply reflected the change in New Zealand's status from colony to dominion in 1907 (which made the notion of a Colonial Architect untenable) rather than any significant changes in Campbell's duties.

Nevertheless the new title was indicative of a change in the status of government architects throughout the British Empire as a whole. By the early twentieth-century the state had clearly emerged as a powerful architectural patron in many British territories. Government architecture had nebulous beginnings in most of them. In Australia, for example, government buildings were first designed and constructed by convicts and in India the first government architecture was the work of the amateur architects of the Royal Engineers. Nevertheless Campbell and his counterparts could trace their lineage as official or crown architects back to 1615 when Inigo Jones was appointed the first surveyor of the King's Works. Moreover, in the early twentieth-century their status grew commensurate with that

ancestry. When Campbell was appointed Government Architect of New Zealand, architects in other colonies were appointed to similar posts. In 1902, for example, James Ransome (1865-1944)⁷² was appointed first Consulting Architect to the Indian Government and in 1919 Robert Tor Russell (1888-1972)⁷³ was appointed the first Chief Architect of that colony. In 1919 James Smith Murdoch⁷⁴ was appointed the first Chief Architect for the Commonwealth of Australia.

Campbell's transition from draughtsman to Government Architect within the Public Service matches a similar transition in his professional status. In 1905 F. de J. Clere supported his application to become a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects (R.I.B.A.) because it 'would be a real help in promoting the proper practice of Architecture'⁷⁵ in New Zealand. In the event Campbell was elected a Fellow that year even though he had not previously been elected an Associate, a normal prerequisite of Fellowship. He was also an inaugural member of the Wellington branch of the New Zealand Institute of Architects⁷⁶ and he became a Fellow of that Institute in 1905.⁷⁷ However, while as a Fellow of the R.I.B.A. he received copies of the Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects he left them unopened,⁷⁸ suggesting that he allowed his name to be put forward to the R.I.B.A. primarily because of the office he held, rather than any personal desire for membership.

Although Shaw regarded the R.I.B.A.'s attempts to introduce professional structures and an educational

system as a threat to the architect's artistic creativity and freedom, Campbell's application for Fellowship of the Institute (for whatever reason) read as tacit support of its position. This did not, however, preclude a belief in architecture as a form of artistic expression. Campbell maintained a lively interest in other fine arts and was an amateur landscape painter⁷⁹ and a member of the Academy of Fine Arts.⁸⁰ He also chaired meetings of the architectural division of the Wellington Technical Institute's Art Workers' Guild. While little is known about this institute its British namesake, the Art Workers' Guild, was opposed to the introduction of professional structures.⁸¹

In any case the emergence of a well organised architectural department within the public service strained the relationship between government architects and those in private practice. Thus on numerous occasions the N.Z.I.A. charged that the state was usurping commissions that were rightfully theirs.⁸² A town's post office, law court or police station should, they argued, be designed by local architects rather than foisted upon the community by 'bureaucrats' in Wellington. Such complaints were echoed throughout the British Empire.⁸³ Nevertheless, during Campbell's tenure the office of state architect became firmly entrenched. His thirty-three years in charge of the architectural division laid the foundation that has in part ensured its survival (as the Architectural Division within the Ministry of Works and Development) down to the present.

Campbell's Staff

Although the exact number of architects who worked under Campbell in the early years of his career is uncertain,⁸⁴ it is known that he had nine draughtsmen and one cadet working for him on his retirement in 1922.⁸⁵ This was probably the peak; many staff lost their jobs in the 1880s. One of the architects who was made redundant during that decade was P. F. M. Burrows (1842-1920), although he regained it under Campbell.

Born in Norwich, Burrows arrived in New Zealand in 1864⁸⁶ and joined the Public Works Department ten years later.⁸⁷ While employed as architect for the North Island, he designed such notable works as the Supreme Court House, Wellington, 1879, and Mount Eden Gaol, begun in 1883. His services were 'dispensed with' on 31 March 1884⁸⁸ and he was not re-employed by the government again until 1895 when he was appointed a temporary draughtsman at Hunterville.⁸⁹ In 1903 he was transferred to Wellington as a temporary architectural assistant⁹⁰ and he retired in 1908.⁹¹ His fall in stature within the public service, from head architect to temporary architectural assistant, casts doubt on the nature and extent of his architectural training.⁹² Nevertheless, his continued employment by the department provided a link with its very formation.

William Crichton (1861-1928⁹³) was, however, the mainstay of its architectural division when Campbell took

charge in 1889. He had arrived in New Zealand aboard the 'Chile' in 1879⁹⁴ after training with a 'James Hicks' in Redruth, Cornwall.⁹⁵ In April 1880⁹⁶ he joined the Public Works Department, working under both Burrows and Beatson before Campbell's appointment. Under Campbell's aegis, Crichton designed the Dunedin Police Station,⁹⁷ the first building in a precinct which was to include Campbell's Dunedin Gaol and Law Courts. For the first three years under Campbell, Crichton provided an invaluable link with the Department's previous activities. Made redundant on 30 June 1891,⁹⁸ he formed Crichton and McKay [and Haughton], a respected Wellington architectural firm.⁹⁹

Although many other architects were forced by state retrenchment to find work in the private sector, new staff were recruited around the turn of the century who made the civil service their career. The most important during Campbell's term as Government Architect was Claude Ernest Paton (1881-1953¹⁰⁰). Born on 6 September 1881 to an Edinburgh watchmaker¹⁰¹ who died before his birth,¹⁰² Paton was brought up by a relative in Stirling.¹⁰³ He clearly had some architectural or drafting training in Glasgow before his arrival in New Zealand but its nature is now uncertain.¹⁰⁴ Although his influence within the department was pervasive, especially during the last decade of Campbell's career, he was not a member of professional organisations such as the N.Z.I.A. Nor did he receive the title of architect within the public service; he retired from the position of 'senior

draughtsman' in 1946.¹⁰⁵ However, this failure to reach higher office and join professional associations may indicate a lack of ambition rather than inadequate training.¹⁰⁶

Paton clearly shared with Campbell a taste for Scottish Baronial architecture. His early drawings include many studies of the such buildings in his native Aberdeen,¹⁰⁷ especially Wallace's Monument, a seventeenth-century Baronial tower house.¹⁰⁸ Paton arrived in Australia aboard the 'Ormuz' in 1904¹⁰⁹ and emigrated to New Zealand later that year. At first he lived in Masterton, boarding with Alan Stevenson¹¹⁰ (1884 -1917¹¹¹), another Scottish immigrant who was to become an architectural draughtsman with the Public Works Department.¹¹² Stevenson was employed by the architectural division of the Public Works Department on 16 November 1905; Paton on 10 September 1906.¹¹³

Although Paton's family background and early experience of architecture were very similar to Campbell's he was, however, twenty-five years his junior. The earliest buildings identifiable as Paton's date from around 1910-11¹¹⁴ and show him to be fully committed to the Imperial Baroque style. Thus his Dargaville Post Office, 1914, consists of a modest hipped roof single storey block which is nevertheless clad in half columns, a heavy entablature, and a dome capped tower.

Llewelyn Lincoln Richards (1865 - 1945¹¹⁵) was a less prolific designer but he was more senior within the

department. Born in Newport, Wales, he trained in Bristol and emigrated to Tasmania, Australia, in 1888. He later shifted to Perth and despite returning to Britain for a time, he was in Perth again by 1896. He settled in Wellington in 1899 where he was a temporary draughtsman with the Public Works Department.¹¹⁶ In 1901 Richards transferred to Hunterville ¹¹⁷ and in 1903 back to Wellington.¹¹⁸ Around 1908 he was appointed Assistant Government Architect¹¹⁹ and while in the capital he worked closely with Campbell. In fact it is sometimes difficult to distinguish their separate roles in creating designs. While, for example, the Public Trust Office is generally known as Campbell's work it has also been credited to Richards. ¹²⁰ Moreover, Campbell and Richards' retirement on the same day in 1922¹²¹ brought an abrupt end to their partnership and points to the closeness of their working relationship.

Both Richards and Paton can, perhaps, claim some credit for reinforcing Campbell's commitment to the Imperial Baroque style. His more vigorous designs were created around 1905-10 when Richards was a senior member of the department and more responsibility had devolved on Paton. Moreover, both Richards and Paton created more exuberant Baroque designs during the early twentieth-century than did those architects who had worked under Campbell during the 1890s. Once in private practice, Crichton designed more restrained buildings (such as his Missions to Seamen building, 1903) than those erected by the Public Works Department at that date. In

fact after 1906, when Beaux-Arts classicism became one of the dominant influences in Britain, Campbell and his staff lagged behind, creating designs in the more vigorous Baroque style fashionable a few years earlier. It may be that the Department's continued use of the Imperial Baroque style, when it was becoming unfashionable in Britain, was due to the presence in the department of young architects from 'home' whose formative years in Britain coincided with the highpoint of the Imperial Baroque style.

There were, however, many other influential architects who worked for the department who are now known primarily for their buildings in other architectural styles. Thomas Stoddart Lambert,¹²² William Gray Young¹²³ and R. A. Patterson¹²⁴ were among them. With the notable exception of Patterson (Government Architect between 1941 and 1952¹²⁵) most worked for the Department for only short periods. Young, for example, was employed by the architectural division of the Public Works Department for only a few weeks and left to serve his articles under Campbell's former colleague, Crichton.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, the department provided reasonably secure employment and a wage or salary which assisted many young architects in establishing their own practices.

With such a large and transient work force the possibility of establishing one recognisable, official style must surely have been remote. However, until the second decade of the twentieth-century Campbell was the

dominant architect in the department. He was therefore able to firmly establish a new government style. In fact his close involvement with all work created under his aegis led the Premier, Richard John Seddon, to complain in 1894 that 'Mr. Campbell goes too much into details himself instead of taking a general supervision and letting others do the work under instruction'.¹²⁷ Similarly, W. F. C. Vine, an architectural cadet under Campbell, remembers that

Most of the buildings erected by the P.W.D. during his [Campbell's] term of office could be considered as being of his design or influence, but in the later years Claude Paton was regarded as the principal designer.¹²⁸

Thus until about 1910, after which time Campbell's attention turned increasingly to administrative duties, most of the buildings produced under his name can be attributed to him with reasonable certainty. After 1910, a sub-style emerges within the department's work which was presumably developed by Paton. However, the creation of a new government style of architecture between 1890 and c. 1910 can be directly attributed to Campbell. to Campbell.

3

Indeed, Campbell clearly indicated the direction the department was to take as early as the mid 1880s when he draughted a design for the Dunedin Railway Station to replace a timber building constructed in 1874.¹²⁹ His design bears the date 1883¹³⁰ and if in fact it was created that year it must rank as the first work designed in New Zealand in the restrained English Baroque

style revived by John Brydon in his design for the Chelsea Vestry Hall, 1885-7. More particularly, however, the linked central and end pavilions of Campbell's design recalls Palladian compositions such as William Kent's Holkham Hall, begun 1734, and the Royal Horse Guards, London, 1751-8. Thus, in his very first New Zealand work, Campbell looked back to eighteenth-century English architecture as a starting point for the creation of a modern design. There are also elements in his design which are reminiscent of Gordon's 'Greek Thomson' inspired compositions. His use of a temple front, raised above a full ground floor, as the central feature of the building recalls Thomson's incorporation of such forms as subordinate elements in his compositions.

4 The existence of another design for the Dunedin Railway station in the Gothic style may indicate that Campbell's allegiance to classicism was not unwavering. However, the evidence supporting the attribution of the design to him is itself equivocal.¹³¹ A surviving perspective sketch of the design by George O'Brien has also been identified as one of George Troup's entries in the architectural competition for the Dunedin Railway Station held in 1900.¹³² The design, whether by Campbell or Troup, must surely have been created well before 1900; O'Brien died in 1888. Moreover, photographs of two designs for the station were exhibited in the South Seas Exhibition of 1891.¹³³ One of them most probably depicted the design rendered by O'Brien.

In fact the evidence which links Campbell with this

second design is no stronger than that which connects Troup with it. Both architects were employed by the Public Works Department around the time the designs were created. And although neither of the designs were registered by the Public Works Department¹³⁴ the drawings for the classical project are signed by Campbell and are now held in a collection of unnumbered contract documents known as 'John Campbell's papers'. No mention of a second design is made in these papers, suggesting that the Gothic designs may not be Campbell's work.

Although the general composition of the designs is similar (they have the same number of bays between their various pavilions) this was almost inevitable. Foundations were laid for the new building before it was decided which design would be erected. Thus the designs most probably created to a predetermined plan. Stylistically, however, the second design is very different from the first. The forward breaks of the central pavilion rise above the main block to form towers and its Gothic detailing, with a Scottish Baronial inflection, clearly distinguishes it from the classical project. In a general sense the composition recalls that of Alfred Waterhouse's Natural History Museum, London, 1871-81.

The use of the Gothic idiom in designing the building has precedent in the great Gothic railway buildings erected in Britain and her colonies, such as George Gilbert Scott's St Pancras Station and Hotel, London, 1868-74, and Frederick William Stevens's Victoria

Terminus, Bombay, India, 1878-87. However, it was an idiom which Campbell used only rarely. The proposed use of materials in the second Railway Station design is also atypical of Campbell's work. O'Brien depicts the building erected in a grey stone (presumably breccia), a material used by Troup in the final design for the Dunedin Railway Station building begun in 1903, though shunned by Campbell. Even in his drawings for the Dunedin Law Courts, Campbell depicts a building constructed in brick even although the main facades of the structure were in the event clad in stone. Whatever the affinities between the design and existing buildings by Campbell or Troup, the evidence available at present is insufficient to establish unequivocally who created the Gothic project.

Nevertheless the creation of two elevations to the same plan illustrates the way in which Victorian architects were capable of dressing similar structures in different styles to evoke different architectural associations. It also illustrates the nineteenth-century search for a suitable architectural style for railway stations. However, the classical project was for its date the more progressive design. While there is a hint of Campbell's Dunedin Law Courts, 1899-1902, one of his early buildings, in the Gothic design, there is in the classical design a premonition of Parliament buildings, 1911-22, his last work.

The Gothic design, whether created by Campbell or not, represents an architectural style which he was to

use only on very rare occasions.

Footnotes

1 Phillip Davies, Splendours of the Raj; British Architecture in India, 1660-1947, London, 1985, p.16.

2 Colin Amery, 'Public Buildings', Architecture of the British Empire, (Robert Fermor - Hesketh, ed.) New York, 1986, p.132.

3 Gavin Stamp, 'British Architecture in India 1857-1947', Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, May 1981, p.372.

4 Jan Morris with Simon Winchester, The Stones of Empire; The Buildings of the Raj, Oxford, 1983, p. 32. The opinions of Stamp and Morris (and others) are more fully contrasted in Davies, p.16, and the problems of historical objectivity in assessing British buildings erected in India discussed pp.11-16.

5 On local efforts to have the tower reconstructed and public reaction to the demolition of the original structure tower see Elizabeth Smither, 'Four Corners; More than a Clock' North and South, Auckland, September 1986, p.10.

6 See New Zealand Architect, no. 3, 1986, p.66. The tower was earlier awarded a national branch award, see Ibid, p.30.

7 See John Wilson, Lost Christchurch, Springston, 1984. The buildings are: the Central Police Station, 1897, 1906 (p.16); the School for the Deaf, Sumner (p.56); 1893 extensions to Sunnyside Hospital (p.58); the 1909 additions to the Magistrates Court (p. 83); the Sydenham Post Office, 1911-12 (p.91); and the Phillipstown Post Office, 1910 (p.91). Of these only the School for the Deaf, Sumner (see P.W.D. 19823, signed 'Jno Campbell 14 May 1902') and extensions to Sunnyside Hospital (see P.W.D. 13192) can confidently be attributed to Campbell himself.

8 See, for example, M. B. Boyd, City of the Plains; A History of Hastings, Wellington, 1984, p.165. Boyd explains that the new Hastings post office designed by Campbell 'and government purchase of Olrig and Pourerere ensured Dillon's return in the 1908 elections.'

9 Birth certificate, Scottish Register Office, Edinburgh, Scotland.

10 According to information on Campbell's birth certificate. His mother's maiden name is noted as Jessie Thompson on his death certificate, (Registrar General's Office, Lower Hutt, New Zealand) but this

would appear to be incorrect.

11 Campbell's father is noted as a ship's chandler on Campbell's birth and death certificates and Mr. D. S. G. Marchbanks remembers visiting a firm run by the Campbell's in 1927. The only chandlery business listed in Glasgow Directories operated by anyone with the name Campbell during this period is 'Campbell and Hall', first listed in 1859 and operated by a Donald Campbell. (Correspondence with Dr Leitch, Strathclyde Regional Archives, 18 December 1986.) Thus presumably 'Campbell and Hall' was indeed the family business.

12 Death certificate.

13 See W1, Series 14, register 2, folio 133.

14 Mr. James Marchbanks notes living with Campbell in Helensburgh in 1929-30. See the 'Memoirs of James Marchbanks' in the possession of Mr. P. J. Hunt. Mr. D. S. G. Marchbanks also remembers boating down the Clyde River with Campbell in 1927 (conversation with Mr. D. S. G. Marchbanks, 23 May 1986) though naturally this has can not be documented. Clearly, however, Campbell's visits to Glasgow must have been relatively short. He is not mentioned in Glasgow Directories during the 1920s or 30s (Correspondence with Dr Leitch, Strathclyde Regional Archives, 18 December 1986).

15 W. F. C. Vine, 'John Campbell: F.R.I.B.A.', Sheppard Collection, University of Auckland and correspondence with Mr. Vine, 1 December 1986.

16 Andor Gomme and David Walker, The Architecture of Glasgow, London, 1968, p.12.

17 Illustrated in A. M. Doak and Andrew McLaren Young (eds.), Glasgow at a Glance; An Architectural Handbook, London, 1977, plate 100.

18 Ibid, plate 81.

19 Ibid, plate 42.

20 Scholefield and Shwabe, Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific, 1908, Wellington, 1908, p.28, states that Campbell attended the Glasgow School of Art. However it is not possible to establish the exact date. Earliest surviving student records date from 1881. In that year a John Campbell was registered at the school but his age is listed as 25 and his occupation as 'painter'. Correspondence with Mr. Ian C. Monie, Principal Librarian, Glasgow School of Art, 28 November, 1986.

21 For an account of the development of the Glasgow School of Art see The Glasgow Style, Glasgow, 1984, pp.9-10.

22 The Annual Report of the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy, Glasgow, December, 1876, p. 10 lists 44 architects and 25 draughtsmen at the school during the year. The total role was 1,131. The largest groups were Engineers (134), Joiners (99), Clerks (90) Masons (68) and Painters (48).

23 See Gomme and Walker, p.319.

24 See Campbell's application form for admission as a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

25 Ibid.

26 See The Building News, 7 September, 1890, p.385

27 See Ibid, 7 February 1890, p.221

28 See John R. Hume, The Industrial Archaeology of Glasgow, London, 1974, p.385.

29 Ibid,p.159.

30 The date for this building is given as 1858 in Gomme and Walker, p.148. However, The British Architect, 11 February 1876, p.74 states that it was erected 'two years ago'.

31 See Gomme and Walker, p.148.

32 See Ibid, pp. 151-2.

33 Illustrated in Villa and Cottage Architecture; Select Examples of Country and Suburban Residences Recently Erected. With a Full Descriptive Notice of Each Building, London, 1880, plates VI-VIII and described pp.5-8.

34 Illustrated in Gomme and Walker, p.133.

35 Ibid, p.135.

36 See The Building News and Engineering Journal, 7 February 1890, p.221.

37 D. Murray Campbell's name appears for the first time as the proprietor of 'Campbell and Hall' in Glasgow Directories in 1917. Correspondence with Dr. Leitch, Strathclyde Regional Archives, 18 December 1986.

38 Mr. D. S. G. Marchbanks remembers meeting D.

Murray Campbell in Dunedin sometime before 1914. 'Murray' Campbell was killed in the war shortly afterwards. Conversation with Mr. Marchbanks, 23 May 1986.

39 Inscription on headstone, Bolton Street Cemetery, Wellington.

40 When Sarah Campbell died her address was noted as 21 Salamanca Road (John Campbell's Wellington residence). Sexton's records, Bolton Street Cemetery, Wellington.

41 Both Mr John G. C. Campbell and Mr D. J. Campbell, recall that Campbell lived in Australia. (Correspondence with Mr John G. C. Campbell, 27 May 1986 and Mr D J. Campbell, 27 April 1986). Mr John G. C. Campbell believes that he was in Sydney, though it is difficult to confirm this information. There were in 1879-80 a large number of people with the name John Campbell listed in Sydney directories, none of them listed as architects. (Correspondence with Mitchell library, Sydney, August 1986) Similarly ten people named John Campbell lived in Melbourne in 1881, none listed in directories as architects or engineers. (Correspondence with the State Library, Victoria, Australia, 8 August 1986.)

42 See, for example, Campbell's application for admission as a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Candidate's Statement.

43 Stone's Otago and Southland Directory 1882, Dunedin, 1882, p.446 lists 12 architects/firms practising in Dunedin. Others include Charles Abbat, Louis Boldini, John Arthur Burnside, Henry F. Hardy, John Summerville, J. T. Stevenson and W. T. Winchester are also listed.

44 N. Y. A. Wales, 'Architecture of Dunedin', Picturesque Dunedin or Dunedin and its Neighbourhood in 1890, (Alex Bathgate, ed.), Dunedin, 1890, p. 126.

45 Ibid, pp.131-2.

46 The first reference to John Campbell amongst the firm's surviving records is an entry dated 18 November 1882 in Mason and Wales 'Book of Job Numbers from 1875 to 1891', unpaginated.

47 A copy of this reference is contained in Mason and Wales 'Letter Book 1880-1887', p.147.

48 See Mason and Wales's 'Book of Job Numbers from 1875 to 1891' including drawings numbers 4496 and 4497, consisting of plans, elevations and sections of Reid and Gray's warehouse, Dunedin.

49 This building was noted in Mason and Wales 'Book of Job Numbers from 1875 to 1891' on 18 November 1882 as job number 1493 and initialled 'Mr. JC & RAK [?]'.

50 See Ibid. Piers (job numbers 4494, 4540, 4541, 4542), cornices (4543 and 4544 with 'GF' and 4591, 4595) the corbelling under the oriel windows (4545, 4546), capitals (4556, 4558, 4650), balustrade (4592), pediment (4593), cap and truss (4594) and window sills (4596 and 4650).

51 These sketches are noted in Mason and Wales 'Account and job Records 1882-1903', p.1, but they have not been traced. Drawings were also sent from Britain for the building. These most probably depicted the internal iron work. See Ibid.

52 The last recorded work by Campbell was entered in Mason and Wales's 'Book of Job Numbers from 1875 to 1891' on 6 April but his employment with the Public Works Department dates from 7 February. See W1, series 14, no.2, folio 133.

53 See W51, no.2 (Colonial Architect's Correspondence Register), 83/74.

54 See Ibid.; W1, Series 14, register 1, folio 135 and A.J.H.R., D.-3, Session II, 1887, p.8.

55 See A 61 (Public Works Audit Office Registers), 1884-5, p. 478. Campbell is listed with other employees under the head 'assistant Engineer, Surveyor, Draftsman, Clerk'.

56 Ibid. See also Campbell's obituary notice, Dominion, 5 August 1942, p. 6.

57 The nineteenth-century meaning of the term clerk of works is explained in J. M. Freeland, The Making of a Profession; A History of the Growth and Work of the Architectural Institutes in Australia, Sydney, 1971, p. 9.

58 See P.W.D. 14017: Waikato Bluff Railway, 'Proclamation taking land for Ry purposes' and also:
P.W.D. 14063: 'Otago Railway Mount Hyde Contract Formation only, Drawing no. 1, Sheet no. 2., Compd JC FDL'
P.W.D. 14639: 'Clutha River Encroachment. Tracing Showing encroachment of river up to 1880. compared with original by CFG JC 26.2.87'
P.W.D. 15526: 'Glenham Tunnel Contract. Compared with original by JC CFG 10/1/88'

59 A search of surviving Public Works Department drawings held by National Archives revealed only the following architectural works draughted by Campbell during this period: P.W.D. 15363: 'Opotiki Police Station and stables' signed by Burrows, initialled 'JC', dated 20.9. 87

P.W.D. 15353: 'Hamilton Police Station and Stable Contract', signed by Burrows, initialled 'JT & JC', dated 20.9.87

P.W.D. 17423: 'Seacliff Lunatic Asylum Gas Works Contract Drawing no. 1, compared by JC FNH ', signed ' E. Ussher, D E 19/7/87'

60 See W1, Series 14, register 1, folio 135.

61 A.J.H.R., vol. II, D.1, p.1. and Rosslyn J. Noonan, By Design; A Brief History of the Public Works Department, Ministry of Works, Wellington, 1975, p. 51.

62 Ken Scadden, ' The Government as Architect and Builder in Nineteenth Century New Zealand (1840 to 1900) ', Newsletter - New Zealand Mapkeepers Circle, no.16, May 1984, p.16

63 Noonan, p.305.

64 Ibid.

65 See A.J.H.R., 1890, vol. 2, D -1, p.31.

66 See Scadden, p.22.

67 Conversation with Mr. P. C. Cornish, 21 November 1986. Mr. Cornish joined the architectural division of the Public Works Department in the 1920s.

68 These journals were held by the Ministry of Works until the 1970s when they were transferred to the National Library. For a full list of early Ministry of Works and Development holdings see The Union list of Serials in New Zealand Libraries, Wellington, 1970, pp.266,269. Many of Campbell's staff had borrowing privileges at the Parliamentary Library and presumably he did also.

69 See W1, Series 14, vol.1, folio 135.

70 See Noonan, p.305. 71 A number of tender notices make reference to 'J. Campbell, Colonial Architect', see for example Evening Post, 8 August, 1900, p.1. Campbell is noted as the Government Architect in, for example, the tender notice for farm (and other) buildings at Levin Industrial School, Evening Post, 24 January 1905, p.7.

72 See Davies, p. 256.

73 Ibid.

74 See D. I. McDonald, 'Architect J. S. Murdoch and the Provisional Parliament House', Canberra Historical Journal, no. 15, March 1985, p.18. and D. I. McDonald, 'Murdoch, John Smith (1862-1945)', Australian Dictionary of Biography (Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle eds.), vol.10, 1891-1939, Carlton, Victoria, 1986, pp. 621-2.

75 Application forms for admission as a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Proposer's Separate Statement.

76 First known as the 'Wellington Association of Architects'. See The New Zealand Institute of Architects; Journal of Proceedings, vol.1, no.2, November 1912, pp.44-5.

77 See 'Early History of the Institute in Wellington', The New Zealand Institute of Architects; Journal of Proceedings, vol. 1, no.1, 1912, p.4.

78 Conversation with Mr. B. E. Orchiston, 20 August, 1986. Mr. Orchiston met Campbell in the 1920s when Campbell gave him some copies of the Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He remembers a vast collection of the journals at Campbell's house. However, all of them (as he remembers it) were still in their wrappers unread.

79 One of his paintings, an untitled view of the Hutt River, is held by Mr. D. S. G. Marchbanks.

80 MS Papers 1372 (Academy of Fine Arts Papers), Members Register 1928/9 - 1933/4. Alexander Turnbull Library.

81 Campbell is noted as chairing a meeting of the Guild in 'Topics of the Day', New Zealand Times, 9 August 1902, p.4. The Wellington Guild was interested in technical matters rather than the philosophical issues of its British counterpart. The topic of discussion in August, for example, was drainage. See Ibid.

82 The Otago Branch of the New Zealand Institute of Architects, for example, objected to the government's proposals to design a new Dunedin Post Office in 1916. They argue that local architects should be given the opportunity to design the building. 'N. Z.I.A. Letterbook 1910-1916', Mason and Wales, p.218.

83 See, in particular, J. M. Freeland, pp.5,

14-15, 71, 98.

84 The exact number is difficult to calculate because staff registers simply list draughtsmen without distinguishing those who worked for the architectural division of the Public Works Department from those who worked for the Engineering division.

85 See New Zealand Gazette, 14 September 1922, p.2524. Of the nine draughtsmen listed one, J. P. Nicoll, was in fact a structural engineer rather than an architect. Correspondence with Mr. W. F. C. Vine, 1 December 1986.

86 His death certificate notes that he had lived in New Zealand for 56 years. See notes on Burrows, A.T.L. biography file.

87 W1, series 14, register A, folio 1.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid, register 2, folio 223.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid, register 4, folio 40.

92 One of Burrows's descendants, Grahame Anderson, suggests in Ms Papers 2527, 'Pierre Finch Martineau Burrows, 1842-1920', 1982, (A.T.L.) that Burrows may not have been a fully trained architect.

93 Charles Fearnley, Early Wellington Churches (Julie Bremner ed.), Wellington, 1977, p. 219 lists his date of birth as 1862. According to his death certificate, Registrar-General's Office, Lower Hutt he was born in 1861 and died on 5 April 1928.

94 According to the entry on Crichton, The Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 1, (Wellington Provincial District), Wellington, 1897, p.581.

95 Ibid.

96 W1, Series 14, register 1, folio 113.

97 See P.W.D. 245, signed by Crichton.

98 W1, Series 14, register 1, folio 113.

99 Dominion, 7 April 1928, p.7.

100 He died on 2 July 1953. (Death certificate, Registrar-General's Office, Lower Hutt)

- 101 Paton's birth was registered on 6 September 1881 Claude Ernest Paton's Birth Certificate, in the possession of Mrs Mouat, Wellington.
- 102 Ibid.
- 103 Information: Conversation with Mrs Mouat, Wellington.
- 104 Mrs Mouat has a photograph of her father marked 'Claude Paton in Glasgow at Drauthman's (sic) Office'. Clearly, then, Paton had some draughting experience before he emigrated.
- 105 'Mr. C. E. Paton' (Obituary), Evening Post, 9 July 1953, p. 10.
- 106 Mrs Mouat believes that he had the training and ability to 'have gone much further' in the Public Works Department.
- 107 Paton's sketchbook, in Mrs Mouat's possession, contains many drawings of this building as well as numerous figure studies and streetscapes.
- 108 See John G. Dunbar, The Historic Architecture of Scotland, London, 1966, pp. 184-5.
- 109 Information: post card held by Mrs Mouat.
- 110 Information: conversation with Mrs Mouat. Neither architect is, however, listed in directories of the period.
- 111 Date of birth Public Works Department Staff Register 3, folio 106. Date of death: Official History of the New Zealand Engineers during the Great War 1914 -1919, Wanganui, 1927, p.308.
- 112 Stevenson was one of the department's most promising architects (and a long-standing friend of Paton's) but his career was cut short when he died during the First World War.
- 113 On Stevenson see W1, series 14, register 3, folio 106 and on Paton Ibid, folio 121.
- 114 Paton compiled an untitled list of buildings which Mrs Mouat understands consists of those works he had some involvement in designing. The earliest structure on the list is the Seddon Memorial and sarcophagus, Bolton Street Cemetery, 1906, but only a few works date prior to 1910-11.
- 115 Richards was born on 3 October 1865 (W1, Series 14, vol. 4, folio 53) and died on 17 September

1945. (Death certificate, Registrar -General's office Lower Hutt.)

116 The biographical information about Richards' early career in this paragraph is taken from 'Government Architects. Two Retirements', New Zealand Building Progress, July 1922, p.249.

117 W1, Series 14, vol. 4, folio 53.

118 Ibid.

119 According to 'Government Architects. Two Retirements', New Zealand Building Progress, p.249. This date seems unlikely, however. Campbell, himself, was not appointed Government Architect until the following year.

120 Correspondence with Mr W.F.C. Vine, 1 December 1986. An unsourced hand written note at the foot of the typescript on Richards contained in the 'Sheppard collection', University of Auckland, states that he 'Designed Public Trust for J. Campbell'. W. F. C. Vine also believes that Richards designed this work. Correspondence with Mr W. F. C. Vine.

121 'Retirements etc.', New Zealand Gazette, no.76, 26 October 1922, p.2870.

122 W1, Series 14, register 4, folio 13. Lambert was employed by the department as a temporary architectural draughtsman from 1 July 1902 until 3 August 1905.

123 Ibid, register 3, folio 194. William Gray Young was employed by the department from 4 September until 9 November 1905.

124 See A Brief History of Public Buildings in New Zealand, unpaginated.

125 Ibid.

126 See Robert Vorstermans, 'William Gray Young Architect 1885 -1962', Bachelor of Architecture Final Year Research Report, Victoria University of Wellington, 1982, p.7.

127 W1 24/188 Part O (C), PW 94/132, Telegram, R. J. Seddon to Under-secretary, p.2.

128 W. F. C. Vine, 'John Campbell, F. R. I. B. A.', Sheppard Collection.

129 See W 32, Contract Documents, Straight Number System, no.126.

130 W32 Dunedin Passenger Station, Unnumbered Contract documents, John Campbell's Papers. The date is included on one of the shields incorporated in the design of the building.

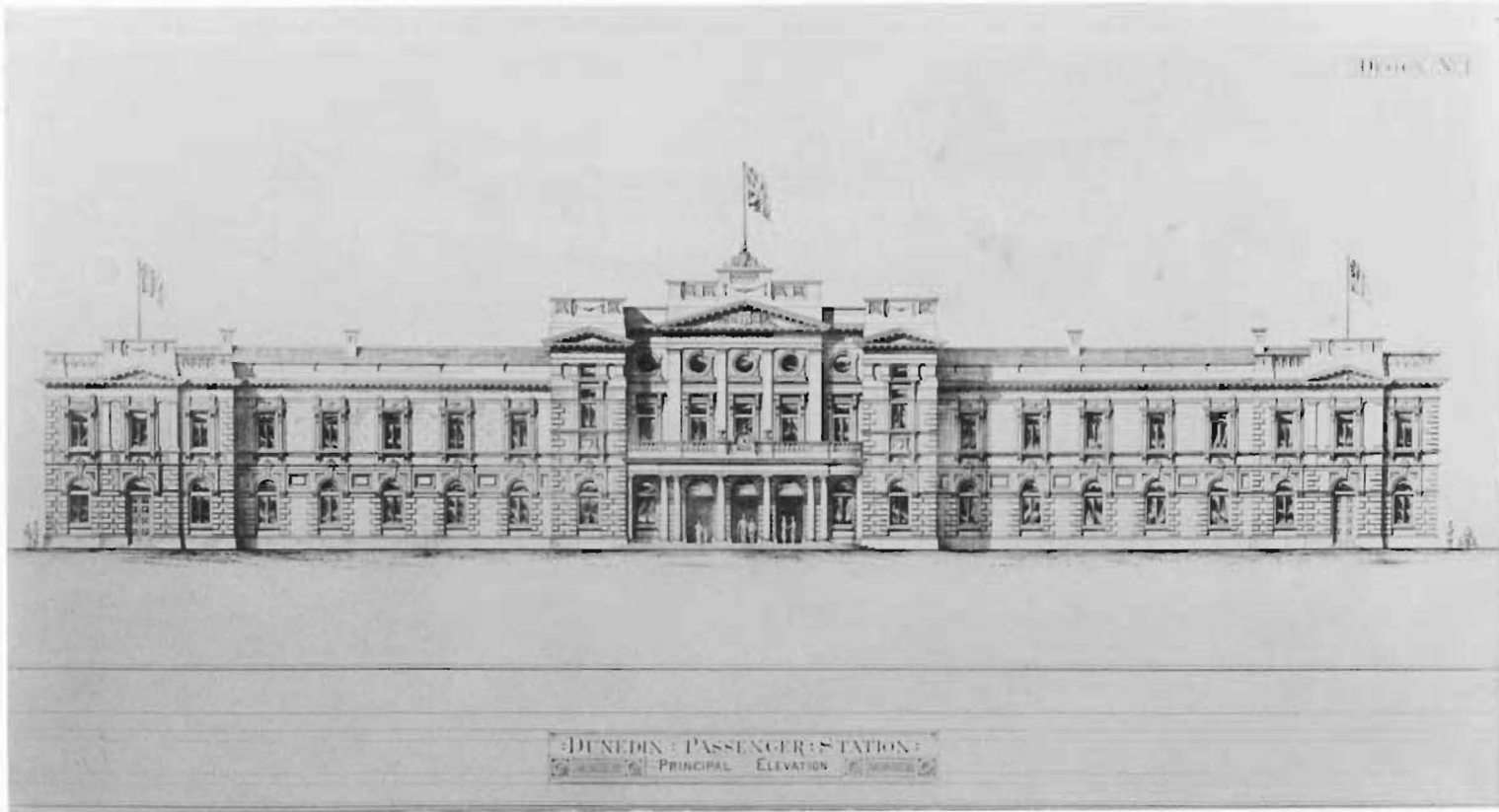
131 Rosemary Entwisle, 'Dunedin's Stations; Solving an Architectural Puzzle', Historic Places in New Zealand, no.14, September 1986, pp.8-10.

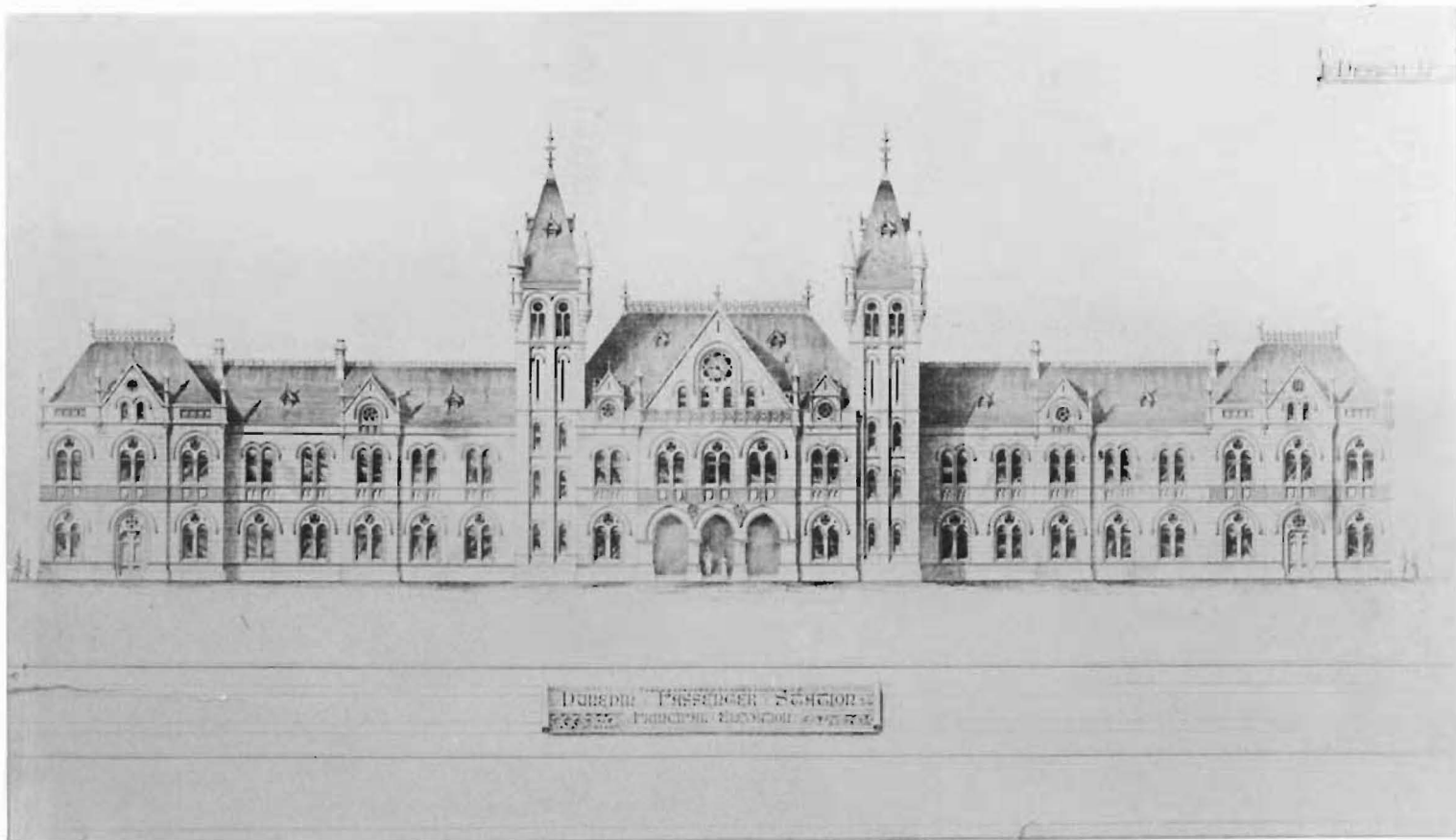
132 See Gordon Troup, George Troup; Architect and Engineer, Palmerston North, 1982, p.39.

133 Official Record of the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, Wellington, 1891, p.63. (exhibit no. 87 'Photograph of accepted design for Dunedin Station') and p. 64 (exhibit no.176 'Design no. 2, Dunedin Passenger-station').

134 Entwisle's assertion to the contrary (Entwisle, p. 9) is incorrect.







Chapter 2

The 1890s

Although Campbell's classical project for the Dunedin Railway Station was prophetic similar designs were not erected by the Public Works Department until the first decade of the twentieth-century. During the 1890s themselves Campbell created many designs in the 'Queen Anne' style which include an increasing number of Baroque elements as the decade progresses. This transition from Queen Anne to Imperial Baroque occurred fitfully but by the turn of the century Imperial Baroque had emerged as a new government style of architecture in New Zealand.

Queen Anne was a propitious starting point for the development of such an official style. Brick, the characteristic building material of Queen Anne structures, was comparatively cheap and thus appealed to governments mindful of public expenditure. It was also available throughout New Zealand and could therefore be used in the construction of very similar buildings whatever their location. Moreover, it represented a significant stylistic break with the work of Campbell's predecessors (Clayton, Burrows and Beatson), marking Campbell's appointment as chief government draughtsman.

Its political associations were apt. In Britain Queen Anne was associated with progressive ideals and in particular with a search for 'sweetness and light', or 'beauty' and 'enlightenment'.¹ 'Progressives' (those who

sought enlightenment) 'founded schools, museums, colleges, university extension courses, hospitals, and swimming baths; [and] they preached the need for health, temperance, [and] welfare'.² In some areas such achievement was paralleled, if not outstripped, by the Liberal Government of New Zealand, first elected in 1890. It would have been surprising, then, if the Liberals had not decided to erect state buildings in the Queen Anne style.

In any case Campbell's decision to use a style which developed in part as a reaction against the Gothic revival is entirely in accord with his training in the classical idiom. In fact his Scottish upbringing parallels that of many of Queen Anne's progenitors. Both William Eden Nesfield (1835-88) and Shaw, for example, were Scottish by birth and training. While their work was inspired by the brick vernacular architecture of England and Holland, Campbell's association with the design of bare brick buildings stretches back to his time in Gordon's office.

But whatever Campbell's personal experience of brick buildings, there were by the 1890s numerous 'Queen Anne' public buildings in Britain which could serve as models in the colonies. Shaw's New Zealand Chambers, 1871-3; F. J. Hames's Municipal buildings, Leicester; 1873-5, T. E. Collcutt's Town Hall, Wakefield, 1877-8 and Perkins and Bulmer's Town Hall, Pontefract, 1881, represented different approaches to this highly eclectic style. And just a few years before Campbell's appointment as chief

government draughtsman, Samuel Hurst Seager, introduced the style in New Zealand; the construction of his Christchurch Municipal Chambers, 1885-7, within sight of some of the finest Gothic buildings in that city must have provided a springboard for Campbell's own work.

However, Campbell's Queen Anne designs have none of the picturesque utility of Seager's. Rather some of the Baroque elements of his later work are already present. Oversize keystones and small pediments with sketchily modelled beds (prefiguring the large open-bed pediments of his later buildings) are included in his designs as early as 1895. Moreover, red brick is as much a feature of his Imperial Baroque architecture of the first and second decades of the twentieth-century as it is of his work of the 1890s itself.

Thus during the 1890s Campbell began to compile the repertoire of architectural elements which he would use in the twentieth-century. Many of the specifically Queen Anne elements he employed during the 1890s are borrowed from the architectural vocabulary of J. J. Stevenson, Shaw, Robson and others. They include brick pilaster strips topped with 'spheres'; Flemish gables; white sash windows (which often have decorative brick aprons); wrought iron railings and towers and tourelles with ogee caps. Other hallmarks of 'Queen Anne' such as coved eaves, decorative terracotta panels, and bay and oriel windows Campbell often omitted from his designs, presumably because of their expense. Some of the decorative motifs employed by Queen Anne architects

(such as sunflowers) had also become associated with the aesthetes, the pursuers of beauty, who were often the subject of public scandal and ridicule. Presumably the government would not have wished to become linked with such groups by incorporating motifs associated with them in the design of government buildings.³

The work which occupied most of Campbell's time during the 1890s was the design and erection of hospitals for the mentally ill. During the decade he designed extensions and alterations to the six major hospitals in New Zealand, namely, Avondale (Auckland), Mount View (Wellington), Sunnyside (Christchurch), Seacliff (near Dunedin) and the Nelson and Hokitika Asylums. At Seacliff he attempted to stabilise the subsiding land on which R. A. Lawson's building was
5 constructed,⁴ and at Sunnyside he designed the administration or entrance block in 1891⁵ to complement the existing buildings by Mountfort and Cane.⁶

However, it was at Porirua (and in Campbell's extensions to the other hospitals) that his first designs in the Queen Anne style were erected. Although the Porirua Asylum was 'the largest building in New Zealand of its kind',⁷ financial constraints prevented elaborate ornamentation. The asylum was established in 1887 'to relieve the general pressure which unfortunately existed in the various Asylums of the Colony'⁸ and was originally housed in a timber building 'capable of accommodating about thirty patients'.⁹

Campbell's very much larger building was designed by 3 February 1891¹⁰ and completed by February 1894.¹¹ Although it was to grow in piecemeal fashion throughout the decade and beyond, the first portion established the architectural character of the whole edifice prior to its demolition and replacement in 1942.¹²

6 The original asylum had a cruciform plan of a type draughted by Mountfort for Sunnyside Hospital¹³ nearly thirty years earlier. Pavilion lunatic asylums (such as those constructed at Leavesden, Woodside, near Watford and Caterham near Croydon¹⁴) had been built in Britain since the late 1860s. However, such asylums were not erected in New Zealand until 1911 when the Tokanui Mental Hospital was begun near Te Awamutu.¹⁵ Thus, like the original design for Sunnyside, the Porirua Asylum had a central 'spine'. At Porirua that spine contained a dining room, kitchen and various store and heating rooms. Dormitories fed off the northern end and an administration block was located in the south.

7 The administration block of the asylum had three Flemish gables of a type that Campbell was to use throughout the 1890s and beyond. They have circular windows and a complex inter-relationship of strings and pilaster strips topped with 'spheres'. In the design of the northern dormitories, Campbell incorporated bay
8 windows and verandahs which provided space in the open air for convalescence. Some small terracotta panels with a decorative foliage pattern were also introduced in the 'gables' along the day room block.

The plain Queen Anne appearance of the building marks a departure from the work of Campbell's predecessors. Thus while Campbell was clearly prepared to design extensions to buildings such as Sunnyside in keeping with their architectural design, he had begun to develop a new government style as early as 1894. Additions to the building, despite their later date, were naturally erected in the same style. When an additional wing, extending the existing male dormitory into the east, was commenced for 78 male patients in February 1896¹⁶ Campbell incorporated bay windows and verandahs of similar design to those of the original asylum building.

9 He also added a clock tower to the asylum the same year which has an ogee cap, thus recalling the towers of Elizabethan and Jacobean buildings such as Burghley House, Northants, 1575 onwards. Like English Baroque structures of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries, buildings of Elizabethan and Jacobean times were viewed as distinctively British and therefore a suitable starting point for the development of a peculiarly British style of architecture. Thomas Graham Jackson (1835-1924), for example, was inspired by such buildings in his work at Oxford University (1876 onwards). Moreover, Basil Champney's Pfeifer building and others at Newnham College (1874-1910) combine in a free manner the ogee caps of such late sixteenth-century architecture with the red brick and white sash windows more readily associated with Queen Anne. Thus the tower

reveals Campbell's interest in the search for a new British style of architecture which eventually culminated in the construction of Baroque buildings.

However, later additions to the Porirua Asylum were naturally designed in keeping with the architecture of the original building. An additional wing for female patients was completed by 1899¹⁷ and further additions to the male wing, were completed by December 1900.¹⁸ With their construction both the male and female wings curved back towards the central spine of the building. The new day rooms were pivotal, their turreted corners marking the return to the central block. Small swags introduced in the parapets of some of them are the only additional decorative element incorporated in the design of the asylum.

Porirua was the only asylum built in the 1890s that Campbell designed in totality. Nevertheless, the same architectural elements are employed in his additions to the others. The new auxiliary asylum at Avondale, first
10 occupied on 31 October 1896,¹⁹ was designed with a symmetrical composition with verandahs and central bow window, recalling the design of the north elevation of Porirua. Likewise Campbell's additions to the Nelson Asylum invite comparison with the Porirua buildings. The Male dormitory block, designed by Campbell in June 1898,²⁰ had an 'H' plan with Flemish gables at either end and a verandah in-between. Campbell's hospital buildings did, nevertheless, become more vigorous in design. Although designed and built in the early years

12 of the twentieth-century, the Sumner Deaf and Mute Institute, 1902,²¹ can most appropriately be dealt with here. The building consisted of three pavilions (a girl's wing, director's house and boy's wing) constructed next to each other. Although the design was thought to 'be devoid of any attempt at architectural beauty or ornamentation',²² in fact the bold bands of brick and Oamaru stone testify to the increasing vigour of Campbell's work. Moreover, by designing the building as three linked pavilions Campbell anticipated the construction of 'pavilion' hospital buildings in New Zealand.

However, his resolve to establish a new government style is most clearly revealed in his design for extensions to the Government Printing Office, created in 1895. The first portion of the office had been designed by Campbell's immediate predecessor Charles Edward Beatson in 1883-4.²³ Beatson's designs included wings along Bunny Street and Lambton Quay²⁴ and reports that the office was to cost 20,000²⁵ suggest that at first the government intended to construct them. However, in 1885-8²⁶ only a simple three storey block was erected on Bunny Street. With its rusticated pilaster strips and central bays capped (on two sides at least) by pediments, it recalled numerous warehouse blocks throughout the colony.

In 1893 the decision to erect further accommodation for the Government Printer was taken. Accordingly, the Under-secretary of Public Works (H.J.H. Blow) wrote to

Campbell asking how much it would cost to erect some or all of the remaining design.²⁷ Campbell responded by explaining that the entire ground storey should be constructed because it was the only floor which could house the heavy machinery used by the Government Printer.²⁸ The government, however, decided to construct the whole three storey block and rather than using 12,13 Beatson's design, Campbell created his own.²⁹ His designs were completed by August 1894,³⁰ work on excavating foundations began in June 1895³¹ and construction of the building was completed by October 1896.³²

Like Beatson, Campbell uses pilaster strips to divide the facade into bays. However, his extensions are more richly ornamented than Beatson's block and richer in architectural association. Above the main tripartite entrance and the subsidiary arch along Lambton Quay, Campbell incorporated plaques inscribed with the names of famous people in the history of printing. He thereby set the work of the Government Printer in an illustrious historical context. Below triangular pediments plaques commemorated Louis Daguerre and Joseph Niepce, co-discoverers of the daguerreotype photographic process; Aloys Senefelder, the inventor of lithography, and William Caxton and Johann Gutenberg, printers.³³

The Lambton Quay facade of the office includes elements which Campbell had already used in earlier works such as Flemish gables. However, the design is more playful than Campbell's previous buildings.

Thus brick pilaster strips in the towers arise out of the key stones of window surrounds to support pediments, recalling the dormer gables of Shaw's Lowther Lodge, 1873-5, which seemingly 'slide down in front of the main facade'.³⁴

The tower design is reminiscent of that used at Porirua Asylum, though the Government Printing Office towers have an additional octagonal stage which is partially screened by gables. Campbell's introduction of Baroque elements into the design, such as oversize keystones, marks a step toward the design of Imperial Baroque government buildings. Likewise, the open-bed pediments which top the gables are used in Campbell's later work. The Oamaru stone banding around the entrance again foreshadows the more vigorous striped banding of Campbell's overtly Baroque buildings. Moreover, the Northern Renaissance derivation of some of the elements in the design, such as the Flemish gables, prefigures Campbell's interest in the work of the English Renaissance itself.

The building most closely related to the Government Printing Office in Campbell's oeuvre is the Dunedin Gaol. Begun in January 1895³⁵ and completed in August 1896,³⁶ the new prison incorporates many of the elements used in the Government Printing Office design, though to different effect. The corner towers with ogee caps of the Government Printing Office, for example, are recalled by the bartizans of the Dunedin Gaol building.

Campbell created his designs for the prison in

accordance with suggestions made by Seddon. Although the new gaol was simply an adjunct to an existing prison built in 1861 Seddon intended that it should be one of the most 'progressive' buildings of its type in New Zealand. Bemoaning Burrow's Mount Eden Prison as a structure seemingly built 'to resist the attacks of a battalion of artillery',³⁷ he suggested that the new Dunedin prison should be 'a lighter and neater gaol, and one more in accordance with modern ideas'.³⁸

In making these comments Seddon revealed that he intended to limit the cost of the building by restricting its size and using 'lighter' materials than was customary in constructing gaols in New Zealand. However, his phrase 'lighter and neater' is also suggestive of Queen Anne's 'sweetness and light'. In any case, the construction of a terracotta gaol was pre-empted when Seddon ordered the manufacture of 'a couple of hundred thousand bricks',³⁹ for its erection before designs were finalised. Construction of a gaol with a high degree of craftsmanship (commensurate with Queen Anne brick work) was also ensured when Seddon took the decision to employ free rather than prison labour to erect the building.⁴⁰ Accordingly a professional architect, James Hislop, was appointed to supervise its construction.⁴¹

The suggestion that the gaol should be erected 'more in accordance with modern ideas' was likewise borne of dissatisfaction with the existing prison. The old gaol, said to be 'in a disgraceful condition',⁴² had a

panoptican plan⁴³ and was now inadequate and difficult to successfully enlarge. Furthermore, radial prisons had been discredited when Seddon rejected such a design for the Dunedin Gaol prepared by D. Mahoney in 1889.⁴⁴ In discarding the design Seddon had the full weight of international opinion behind him. The rationale behind the construction of many nineteenth-century prisons was the belief that different 'classes' of criminals would further corrupt one another if allowed to mix together. Thus prisoners were classified according to their age, sex, and degree of criminality and each 'class' was grouped in a separate prison block. At first the separate wings of radial prisons served this purpose but increasingly architects chose to construct gaols as a series of separate pavilions, each housing a different 'class' of prisoner. The site chosen for the new Dunedin gaol, defined by the old prison and the police station, was too restricted for the construction of a gaol with many separate blocks. Nevertheless, the prison was itself conceived as a separate pavilion comprising an administration wing, 52 cells for men and another twenty for women.⁴⁵

Campbell may have had in mind such spare Queen Anne buildings as the Board Schools designed by Edward Robert Robson when designing the gaol. Although Robson's schools were designed to serve a completely different purpose from the Dunedin Gaol, some adaptation of their designs to the kind of 'progressive' prison architecture envisaged by Seddon was prefigured by Robson in his book

School Architecture.⁴⁶ Robson argued that schools constitute a distinctive building type but nevertheless drew attention to the similarities between prisons and industrial schools. Such institutions stand, he said, on 'the border land between vice and virtue'⁴⁷ being the 'the place of half punishment, half discipline, for those of early years still deemed capable of reformation'.⁴⁸

Whether prompted by such comparisons or not, Campbell created a design for the Dunedin Gaol which has a similar plan to many of Robson's Board Schools. Its central administration block stands proud of the rest of the building and is flanked by the gabled ends of subsidiary wings. Thus it recalls the composition of the Board Schools constructed in Angler's Garden, 1873 and
15 Aldenham Street, 1874.⁴⁹ The brick architectural decoration of the gaol is also similar to that of such schools. Its central Flemish gable, and the inter-relationship of pilaster strips and strings, invite comparison with the Aldenham Street School. While Campbell's gables are triangular, not curved like Robson's, they were most probably designed to harmonise with Crichton's adjacent police station which also has a succession of triangular gables.

The similarity between the Gaol and the Board Schools was reinforced by the construction of a wrought iron fence in front of the prison. Just as the fences around Robson's Board Schools kept children in the school grounds, Campbell's provided a further barrier

between prison inmates and the free world.⁵⁰ Even the drawing style of the perspective sketch published in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives is similar to that of the woodcuts in Robson's School Architecture.

16 However, Campbell had another more obvious model in mind for the central administration block of the gaol too: Shaw's New Scotland Yard, 1887-90. The construction of the Dunedin Gaol had been delayed since the beginning of the 1890s because the City Council objected to the continued use of the prison site in the centre of the city.⁵¹ Whether in response to such objections or not Campbell, modelled the central administration block of the gaol on Shaw's building. By architectural reference to the very cornerstone of British justice, the police head-quarters in London, he may well have sought to reassure the public (architecturally at least) that 'the long arm of British justice' did indeed extend from London, England, to Dunedin, New Zealand. This imperial connection was made in the design of the building by including bartizans, striped brick work (again relieved with bands of Oamaru stone), and dormer windows of the central administration block, recalling Shaw's design. Just as Shaw's building was conceived as a 'monumental fortress' ⁵² so too was Campbell's, albeit on a smaller scale. Its purpose is aptly signified by the bartizans, a reference to the tower houses and medieval castles which were the traditional places of incarceration. In any case

bartizans are entirely appropriate in a Scottish settlement such as Dunedin.

Again some Baroque elements are evident in the design. Small pediments without proper beds top pilaster strips in the gables flanking the administration blocks and oversize keystones are also incorporated in the building. Indeed in simply choosing as a model a building with Baroque detailing such as Shaw's New Scotland Yard, Campbell begins to assimilate the Imperial Baroque elements which would form the basis of a new government style in the early twentieth-century into his own architectural vocabulary.

However, although Campbell constructed numerous police stations and court houses during the 1890s and beyond which complement the Dunedin gaol, none are as rich in architectural association. In designing smaller and 'less important' buildings during that decade Campbell uses the Flemish gables characteristic of his other designs but little additional ornamentation. The [7.18,19] Auckland Police Station, designed in 1898⁵³ and completed in December 1899⁵⁴ is much simpler than the Dunedin Gaol. The plan, for example, is less complex: the barracks are constructed hard up to O'Rorke and Princes Streets with a Flemish gable at the corner. However, despite the comparative simplicity of the design, a rusticated door surround is included on O'Rorke Street: a further Baroque element in Campbell's architectural vocabulary. The plan of the Invercargill Police Station, 1900-01,⁵⁵ is more typical; a simple

20 block with a central Flemish gable, a composition which
recalls that of the administration wing of the Dunedin
gaol. Indeed buildings with a similar form, though more
overt Baroque detailing, were often under construction
during the early twentieth-century itself, for example,
21 the Newtown Police Station, Ponsonby Road, 1906.⁵⁶

However, during the twentieth-century Campbell often
had little time to create new designs for such
buildings. Thus on some occasions he approved
transitional Baroque designs draughted in the late 1890s
to be erected again. A design for the Temuka Court
22 house constructed in 1901⁵⁷ was thus redraughted in May
1903⁵⁸ and reconstructed as the Bluff Court house in
23 1905.⁵⁹ The authorship of the original design
is uncertain. While the Temuka Court house has been
attributed to George Schwartz⁶⁰ Campbell's signature
appears on the extant drawings for the Bluff Court
house.

Regardless of the authorship of the design the more
overt Baroque style of the two court houses would no
doubt have appealed to Campbell in the first and second
decades of the twentieth-century. Many of the Baroque
elements in the design, such as the oversize keystones
near the door, are evident in buildings erected during
the 1890s themselves. Others are new. The gable capped
with a scroll pediment and pierced by a finial is more
playful than many of those Flemish gables erected in the
1890s. Similarly, the curved aprons under the windows;
the fanlight over the doorway (and the reference to it

in the impressed decoration in the design of the gable); the blind arcade incorporated in the parapet; and the ribbed chimney stacks with triangular pediments, testify to the growing Baroque eclecticism of the Public Works Department's architecture.

It is therefore surprising that Campbell's last major work of the 1890s, the Dunedin Law Courts, were designed in the Gothic style. George Edmund Street's Royal Courts of Justice, London, 1866-82, however, constituted a compelling precedent for the use of that style. Campbell also had a New Zealand model in mind; Maxwell Bury's Otago University, 1877. Bury's building in turn recalls Sir George Gilbert Scott's Glasgow University; a British model which Campbell would have known at first hand. Designed by 22 November 1899,⁶¹ tenders were called for the erection of the Law Courts that month⁶² and construction began on 24 June 1900.⁶³ The building was completed two years later and opened by Sir Joseph Ward, on 23 June 1902.⁶⁴

The main facade of Campbell's Law Courts consist, like the Glasgow and Otago University buildings, of a long range terminated by pavilions and enlivened by a central tower. Campbell's tower may itself have been inspired by some of those designed for the law courts competition. It is reminiscent of such designs as Burges's record tower (though without a saddle back roof) and those towers designed by Waterhouse for construction along the Strand in his Law Courts competition entry.

The erection of a building to Campbell's design on the old prison site defined by Stuart, Castle and Gaol (now Dunbar) Streets, was problematical. The Otago Law Society opposed the construction of the building there because it was too close to the noise and fumes created by nearby industrial workshops.⁶⁵ Campbell confronted other problems. Whereas both Scott's and Bury's designs were erected in garden settings the Law Courts were constructed on a very confined site. Thus nowhere along Stuart Street would it be possible to view the whole elevation except from a side position. Over thirty years before Campbell, Street encountered the same problem in designing the Royal Courts of Justice along the Strand. However, the irregular and picturesque massing which was his solution to erecting a building on a very restricted site, was foreign to Campbell's classical training and sensitivity. Thus Campbell chose instead to keep to a roughly symmetrical plan.

In any case the Castle not Stuart Street facade of Campbell's design is conceived as the more important. The entrance to the building on the Castle Street side was designed as the main public thoroughfare. Whereas a corridor runs directly from the Stuart Street entrance through to the library and court rooms, movement through the building is arrested at a lobby on the Castle Street side of the Law Courts and the public diverted onto corridors which circumnavigate the court rooms. Thus they are more effectively diverted from those areas from which they are generally excluded.⁶⁶ The Castle Street

elevation is also more typical of Campbell's work of the 1890s. The incorporation of a bay window at the centre
25 of the facade with a porch in front, recalls the northern elevation of the Porirua Lunatic Asylum, albeit in Gothic style.

Despite the problems created by the government's decision to construct the building on the old gaol site, there were advantages in its use. Because the Crown owned the land there was no cost in procuring a site and once erected the building would act as yet another buffer between prison inmates and the outside world. Campbell was also presented with the opportunity of uniting the three buildings in the precinct, namely, the police station, his gaol building of 1895-6 and the new Law Courts. He thus incorporated tourelles in the design of the Law Courts, recalling the bartizans of the gaol building. At first he intended to construct the Law Courts in brick relieved with Oamaru stone, thus complementing the Gaol building. However, the contract for its erection indicated that contractors should calculate an additional tender for facing the Stuart and Castle Street frontages with Port Chalmers stone.⁶⁷ In the event stone was used. ⁶⁸

The use of more expensive materials than is usual in the erection of Campbell's government buildings complements the greater ostentation of the design itself. Whereas Campbell had earlier linked the work of the Government Printer with important figures in the development of his art by the use of evocative

inscriptions, British legal tradition is evoked in the design of the Law Courts with relief carving and statuary. The frieze separating the two stories of the building depicts heraldic shields and a female figure of 'justice' (purportedly imported from Italy⁶⁹) is set in a niche in the Stuart Street tower.

Despite the richness of the design and the wealth of precedent for its construction in the Gothic idiom, it is nevertheless a comparatively late example of secular Gothic architecture. Court houses in free interpretations of medieval styles were also under construction in other parts of the British Empire at about the same time as the Dunedin Law Courts, for example, the Richardsonian Romanesque Oxford County Courthouse, Woodstock, Canada, completed in 1892⁷⁰ and G. B. H. Austins' City Courts, Russell and La Trobe Streets, Melbourne, Australia, begun in 1911.⁷¹ Nevertheless progressive architects in Britain were already designing Baroque court houses such as the Law Courts and Municipal Buildings, Cardiff, Wales, 1897-1904, by H. V. Lanchester and E. A. Rickards.

Within his own oeuvre Campbell's use of the Gothic idiom in designing the Dunedin Law Courts is an anomaly. Although he designed some extensions to Gothic buildings in that style (such as, Parliament Buildings, Wellington) he was never again to design new buildings in the Gothic idiom. It is possible, then, that it was the Scottish Baronial inflection with which he could imbue Gothic architecture which appealed to Campbell as

an expatriate Scot, rather than the Gothic style itself. In any case, the Scottish Baronial inflection of the Dunedin Law Courts is entirely appropriate in Dunedin itself. But in imbuing the Law Courts and the Dunedin Gaol with some sense of 'place' Campbell compromised the development of a single state style.

Ironically, the Law Courts are one of Campbell's best known works and his obituary described them as 'a fine example of Gothic architecture'.⁷² That description belies the classical symmetry of the design and sits uneasily with Campbell's increasing interest in Baroque architecture. However, the very lack of regional or national characteristics of most of the buildings Campbell designed in the 1890s indicates that he still had his eye firmly fixed on British developments in the search for a new official style. The early twentieth-century would see the construction of the more overtly Imperial Baroque designs which were the culmination of that search.

Footnotes

- 1 On the origins of this phrase, coined by Matthew Arnold in Culture and Anarchy, see Mark Girouard, Sweetness and Light; the 'Queen Anne' Movement 1860-1900, Oxford, 1977, p.4.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 A sunflower motif is, however, impressed in the terracotta quoins of the Mount Cook Police Barracks. The barracks were designed by Charles A. Lawrence and draughted by A. E. King under Campbell's supervision. See P.W.D. 19385 and also Charles Fearnley, Vintage Wellington, Dunedin, 1970, plate 63.
- 4 A.J.H.R., 1905, D.-1, Appendix E, p.56 and Ibid, 1906, D.-1, Appendix E, p.66.
- 5 Campbell's drawings for this building, P.W.D. 1684, were registered on 15. 10. 91 and noted in W16/5, folio 104.
- 6 The East Wing of this building was first attributed to Thomas Cane in Judith Hamilton, 'Sunnyside Hospital; A History of its buildings from ca. 1863 to ca. 1900', unpublished ARTH 603 essay, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1985.
- 7 N.Z.P.D., vol. 91, 1895, p.26.
- 8 Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 1, (Wellington Provincial District), Wellington, 1897, p.1075.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 A.J.H.R., 1891, D.-1, Appendix G, p.30.
- 11 Ibid, 1894, D.-1, Appendix F, p.41.
- 12 See R. G. Walsh, The Porirua Story, Porirua, 1979, p.13.
- 13 See Mountfort's plan, dated 1864, Canterbury Museum, noted in Hamilton, p.4.
- 14 See Andrew Scull, 'A Convenient Place to Get Rid of Inconvenient People; The Victorian Lunatic Asylum', Buildings and Society; Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment, (Anthony D. King, ed.), London, 1980, pp.53-5.
- 15 The asylum was constructed as a number of separate 'units'. See Evening Post, 17 October 1911, p.3 and on the construction of a portion of the asylum see W1, 24/225, Part 1.

- 16 A.J.H.R., 1896, D.-1, Appendix F, p.57.
- 17 Ibid, 1899, D.-1, Appendix E, p.99
- 18 Ibid, 1901, D.-1, Appendix E, p.129.
- 19 Ibid, 1897, D.-1, Appendix F, p.60.
- 20 See P.W.D. 18214.
- 21 This date is inscribed on some of P.W.D. 19823. A tender notice for the first portion of the building was placed in Press, 23 May 1902, p.2.
- 22 Press, 31 July 1902, p.3.
- 23 The designs have not been located but a block plan of Beatson's design is reproduced in A.J.H.R., 1884, H - 7, p.2. See also the description of the proposed building in A. R. McKay (ed.), A History of Printing in New Zealand, Wellington, n.d., pp.138-9.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 See Illustrated New Zealand News, 16 March 1885, p.2.
- 26 Tenders for fittings for the building were called in 1888. See, for example, Evening Post, 18 April 1888, p.3.
- 27 W1, 24/188, Part 0 (C), Memo, McKenzie to Seddon, 2 February 1893.
- 28 Ibid, note on cover, Campbell to Blow.
- 29 See Ibid, PW 94/132.
- 30 The building was constructed to the design reproduced in A.J.H.R., D.-1, 1896 but a slightly different design, P.W.D. 17228, was registered by the Public Works Department in August 1894 and noted in W16/5, folio 345. The sketch reproduced in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives was most probably based on P.W.D. 17408, registered on 21 February 1895 and also noted in W16/5, folio 357. It has not, however, been located.
- 31 A.J.H.R., 1896, D.-1, Appendix F, p.57.
- 32 W1, 24/188, Part 0 (C), Wilson to Undersecretary of Public Works, 5 September 1896, states that the new photo-gallery will be ready for moving in on 12 September. See also Ibid, J. Wilson to Engineer in Chief, stating that the skylights were fitted by 19 September 1896.
- 33 See the photographs of the entrances to the building held by the Government Printing Office Library,

Wellington and also Wilbur Alexander Glue, History of the Government Printing Office, Wellington, 1966, p.95.

34 Girouard, p. 52.

35 See A.J.H.R., 1895, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 46. The original drawings for this building, P.W.D. 17445, were registered on 4.4. 95 and noted in W 16/5, folio 258. They have not, however, been located. Tenders were called for the supply of broken metal and sand for the construction of the gaol in February 1895 in Otago Daily Times, 11 February 1895, p.3.

36 The original contract for this building was finished in August 1897 (see A.J.H.R., 1898, D.-1, Appendix E, 1898, p.96) but additional fittings delayed completion until May 1898 (Ibid.)

37 N. Z. P. D., vol.83, 1894, p.195.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 See Otago Daily Times, 11 February 1895, p.2.

42 N.Z.P.D., vol. 83, 1894, p.195.

43 See 'Plan for H.M. Jail Dun, plan 3', 885.923 1972/482. Oatgo Early Settlers' Association Museum, Dunedin.

44 P.W.D. 17466 dated 22.2.89, registered by the Public Works Department on 11. 5. 95. See W16/5, folio 258.

45 Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol.4, (Otago and Southland Provincial Districts), Christchurch, 1905, p.142.

46 Edward Robert Robson, School Architecture, London, 1874. Campbell may well have owned a copy of this book. However, the Ministry of Works and Development library have no record of holding a copy.

47 Robson, p.351.

48 Ibid.

49 Robson describes the Aldenham Street School as one of 'four new school houses' (Robson, p. 324), though no precise date is given for the building. Like many of the Board Schools erected under Robson's aegis it may not in fact have been designed by him. It is not mentioned in the 'List of Educational Buildings Designed by E. R. Robson', in the 1977 reprint of Robson's book . E. R. Robson, School Architecture (introduction by Malcolm

Seaborne), New York, 1972, p. 31-4. It is, however, attributed to him and dated at 1874 by David Gregory-Jones, 'The London Board Schools, E. R. Robson', Edwardian Architecture and its origins, (Alastair Service, ed.), n.p., 1975, p. 92.

50 Campbell's design for the fence and gates , P.W.D. 17866 was registered by the Public Works Department on 17 February 1897 and is noted in W16/6, folio 258.

51 N.Z.P.D., vol. 83, 1894, p.194.

52 Susan Beattie, 'New Scotland Yard', Architectural History (Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain), vol. 15, 1972, p.71.

53 See P.W.D. 18274, 1-4. The note ' Engineer-in Chief for yr approval J Campbell 24/10/98' is written at the top. The design was approved the following day by William H. Hales.

54 A.J.H.R., 1900, Appendix E, D.-1, p.106 and New Zealand Herald, 10 February 1900, p.5.

55 A.J.H.R., 1900, D.-1, Appendix E, p.111 and Ibid, 1901, D.-1, Appendix E, p.131.

56 Ibid, 1906, D.-1, Appendix E, p.61, Ibid, 1907, D.-1, Appendix E, p.65.

57 Press, 2 May 1901, p.4.

58 See P.W.D. 20262

59 A.J.H.R., 1905, D.-1, Appendix E, p.56 and Ibid, 1906, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 66.

60 Schwartz was credited with the design in Press, 2 May 1901, p.4.

61 See the note accompanying P.W.D. 18677 in W 16/6, folio 264.

62 See, for example, Otago Daily Times, 28 November 1899, p.1.

63 See W33, 344. Contract, p.1.

64 Otago Witness, 25 June 1902, p.23.

65 Otago Daily Times, 9 June 1899, p.8. and Ibid, 10 June 1899, p.4.

66 Competitors in the architectural competition for the Royal Courts of Justice, London, were likewise required to plan their buildings so that visitors and legal staff would be clearly separated. See David B. Brownlee, The Law

Courts; The Architecture of George Edmund Street, New York, 1984, p. 105.

67 W33, 344, Law-Courts Contract, p.24.

68 The Otago Daily Times, reported as early as 1 November 1899 that the buildings were to be constructed of stone and brick. See Otago Daily Times, 1 November 1899, p.6.

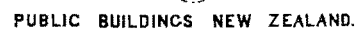
69 See Lois Galer, Bricks and Mortar, Dunedin, 1982, p. 18 and 'Statue Symbolic of Justice', The Evening Star, 12 November 1966 (Vertical file, Dunedin Public Library).

70 See Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, Cornerstones of Order; Courthouses and Townhalls of Ontario, 1784-1914, Agincourt Ontario, 1983, plate 26, 9-39 (p. 243), 9-40 (p. 244) and pp. 242-3.

71 See The Heritage of Australia; The Illustrated Register of the National Estate, South Melbourne, 1981, 3/59.

72 Dominion, 5 August 1942, p.6.





PORIRUA LUNATIC ASYLUM CONTRACT.

SCALE: 10 FEET TO AN INCH.

DRAWING NO 5.

GROUND FLOOR PLAN.

RECORD SET

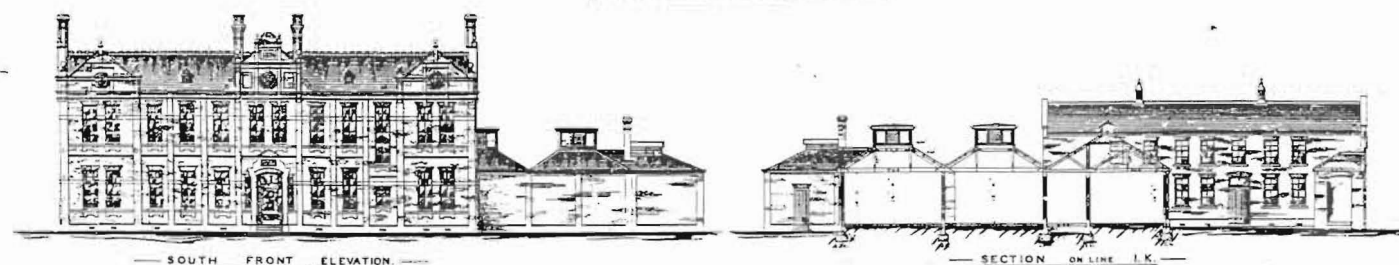
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8

PORIRUA LUNATIC ASYLUM CONTRACT.

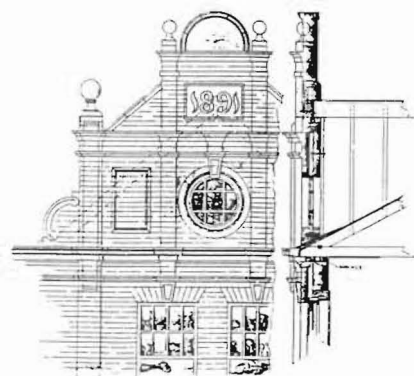
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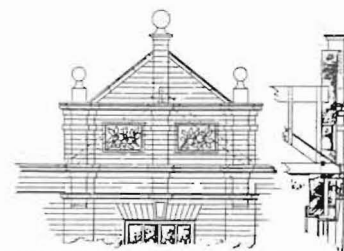
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SECTION ON LINE I.K.

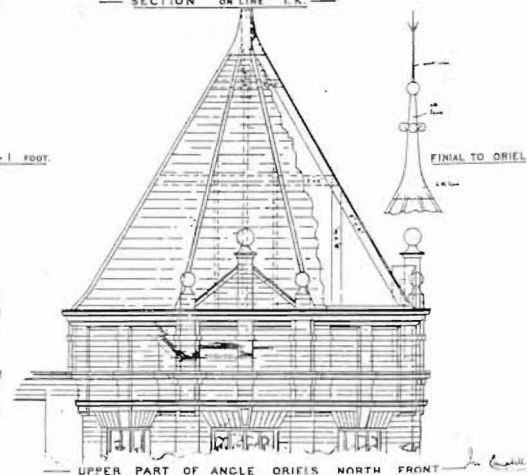
DETAIL DRAWINGS — SCALE 1/2 INCH = 1 FOOT.



CENTRE CABLET SOUTH FRONT.



CENTRE CABLETS NORTH FRONT.



UPPER PART OF ANGLE ORIELS NORTH FRONT.

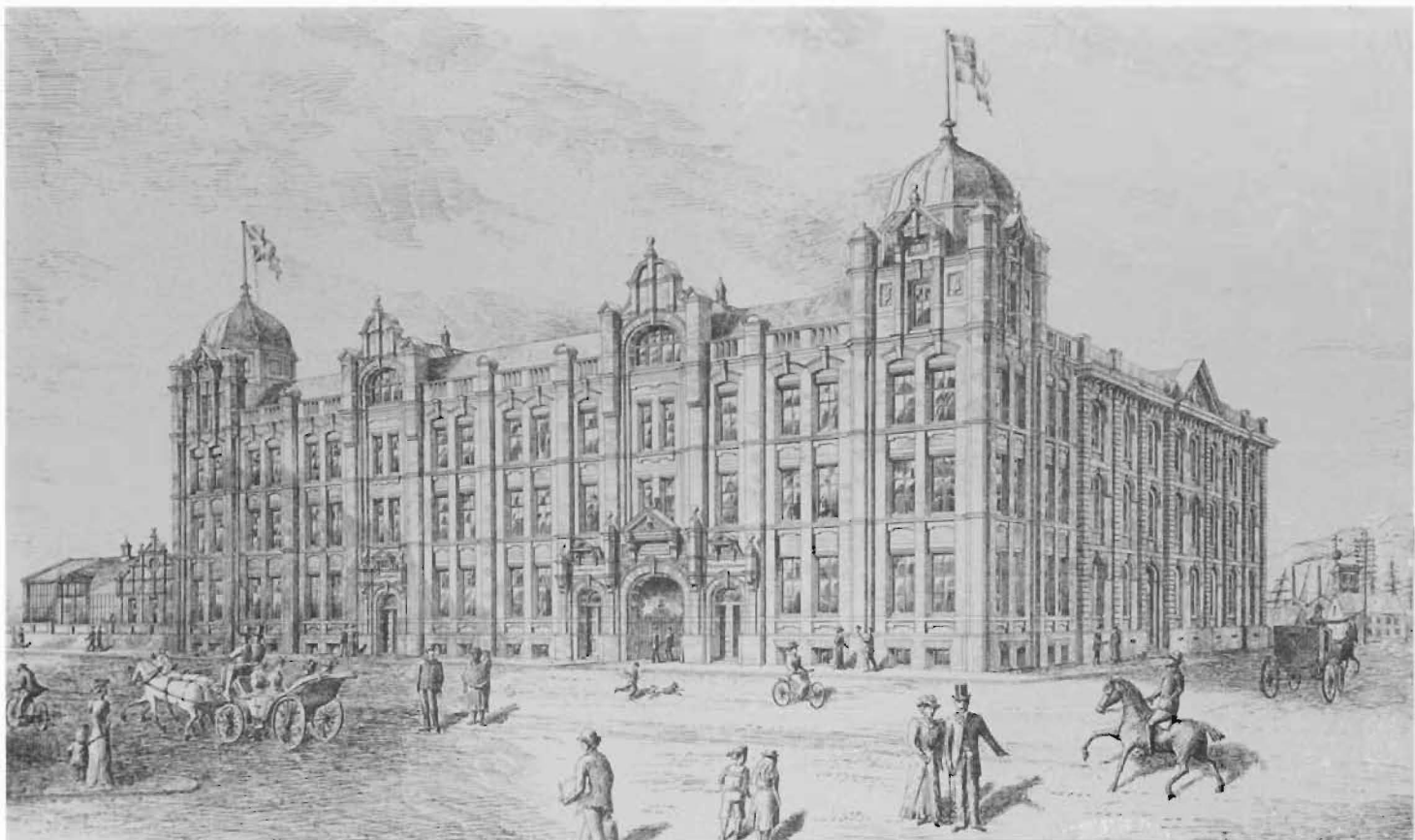
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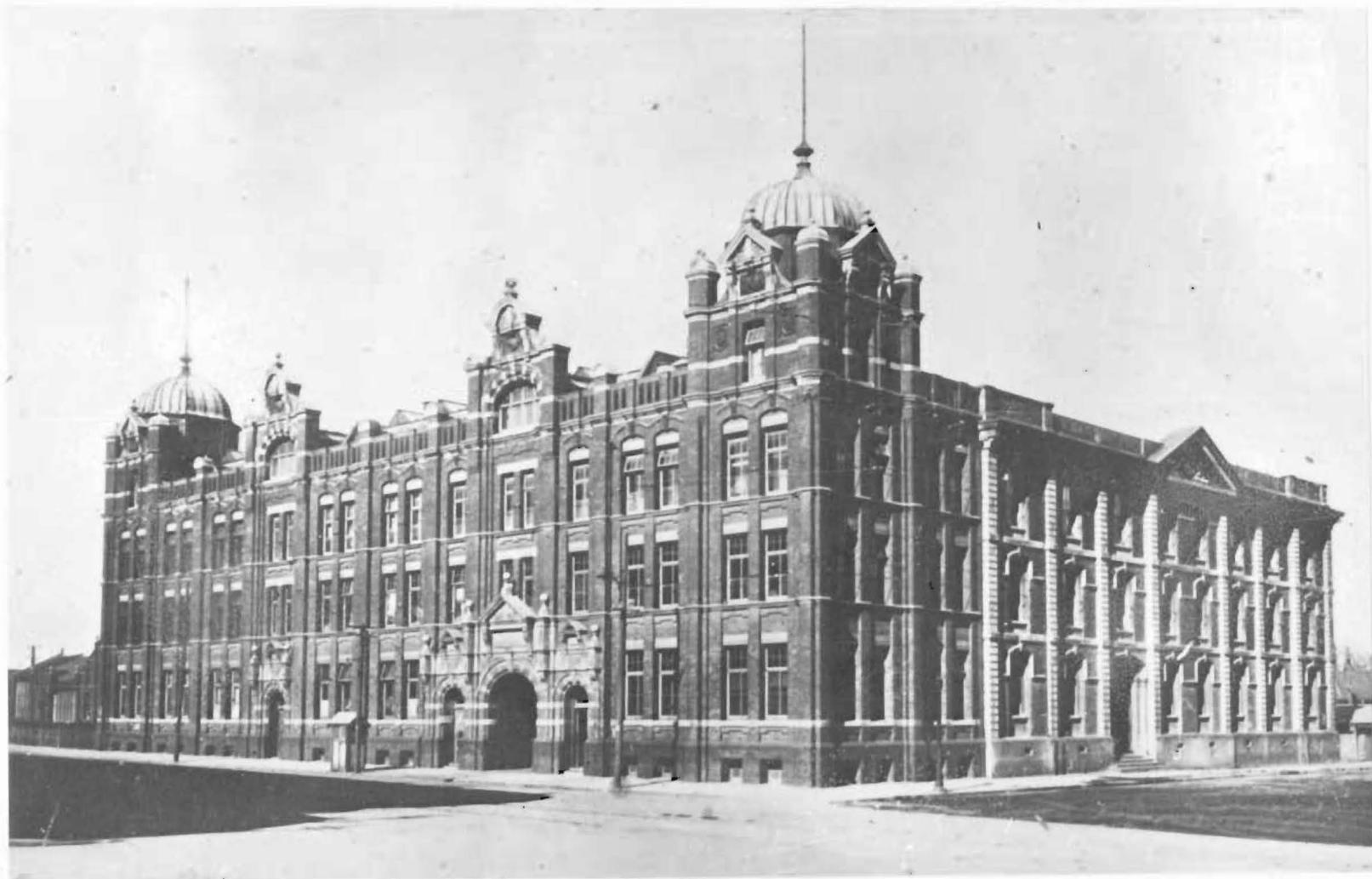
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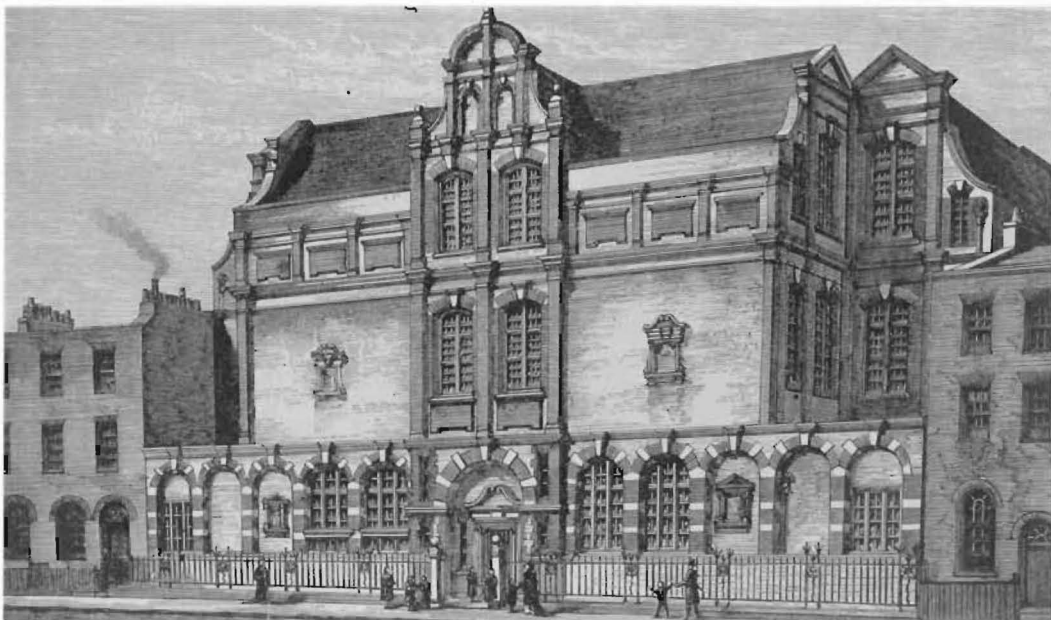






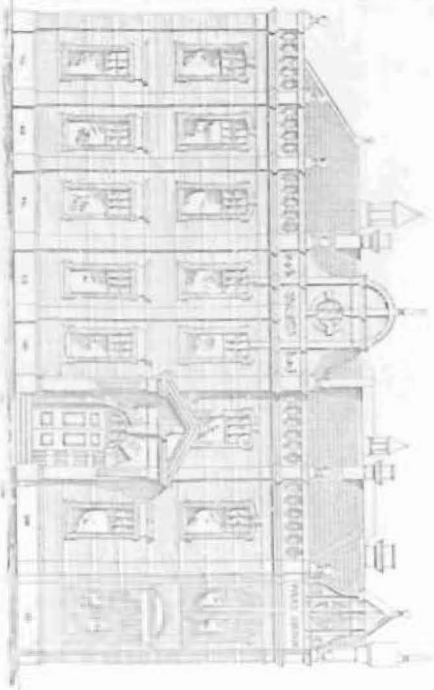


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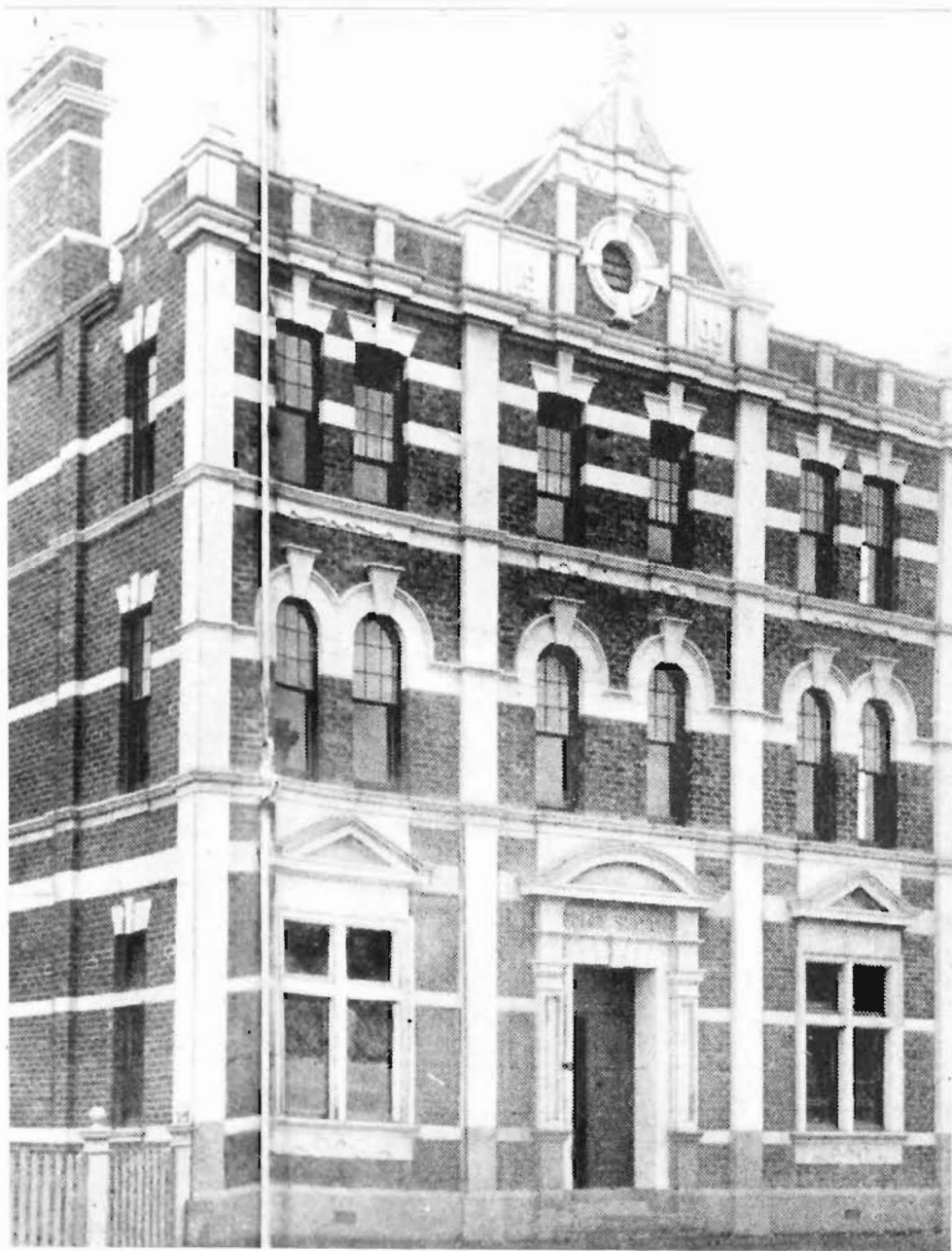
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Elevation to O'Farley St.



17



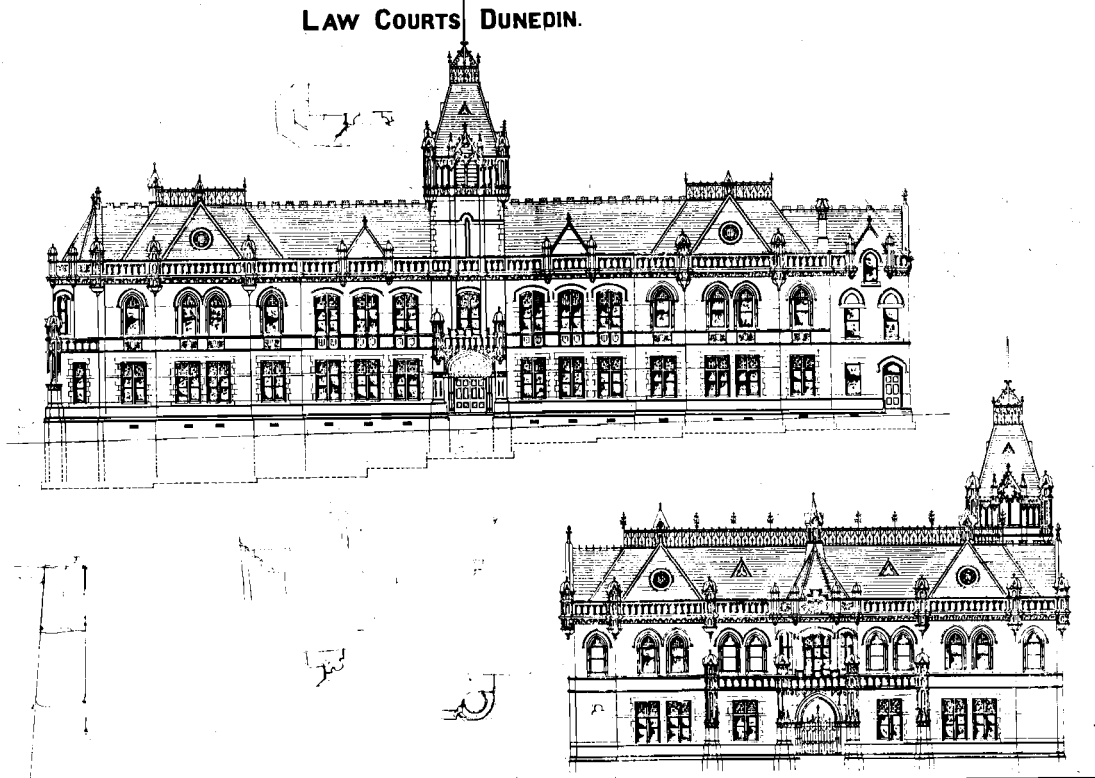




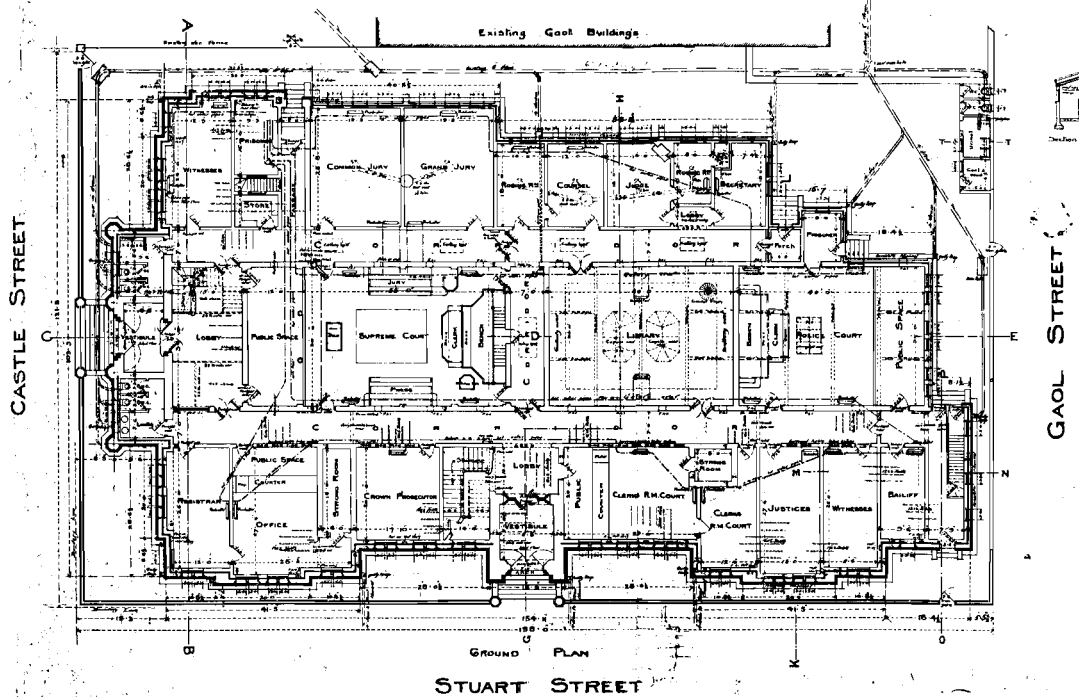




LAW COURTS DUNEDIN.



23

NEW LAW COURT BUILDINGS
DUNEDIN

24



Chapter 3

Imperial Baroque

In August 1897 Richard Norman Shaw judged John Belcher's entry in the architectural competition for the Colchester Town Hall building worthy of first place. The design was, he explained, 'most original and striking as an architectural composition'.¹ Unbeknown to Shaw it was also to become 'the first of a wide-ranging series of Imperial Baroque Buildings',² its influence spreading well beyond Colchester, England, to even the most distant outposts of the British Empire.

The High Street facade of Belcher's design which proved so influential has a rusticated ground floor which supports three pairs of giant columns capped by open-bed pediments. Two segmental pediments flank a triangular one and each of them is formed as an extension of the cornice. This arrangement of giant aedicules 'reminiscent of Vanbrugh, yet actually without any historical precedent',³ was to become a feature of many Edwardian buildings both in Britain and her colonies. Similar aedicules are incorporated in Arnold Thornely's Mersey Docks Building, Pier Head, Liverpool, 1903-7;⁴ the Lands Office (later named the Executive Building) in the Government Centre, Brisbane, Queensland, 1901-5⁵ and the Market Hall, Pine Street, Durban, South Africa, 1901.⁶ In New Zealand Belcher's influence is evident in some buildings Campbell designed during the Edwardian era, climaxing in the Public Trust Office, Wellington,

1905-9.

The appeal of Imperial Baroque in Britain and her colonies was its use of distinctively British forms in a free manner. Its exuberance is indicative of imperial confidence and prosperity. Moreover, the construction of British imperial buildings in the classical idiom parallels the architectural achievements of other imperial rulers such as the Romans.

In the twentieth-century the Baroque elements incorporated in some of Campbell's earlier works predominate. By using distinctively British forms, Campbell's buildings are expressive of New Zealand's bonds with the mother country. However, before Campbell constructed Imperial Baroque government buildings he designed one other major work in a completely different architectural style, the Wellington Custom House. While the Custom House heralds a return to the use of classical elements in Campbell's oeuvre, following the use of Gothic elements in the design of the Dunedin Law Courts, it represents a false start in the establishment of a new government style.

26,27 Campbell designed the Custom House building in June 1902⁷ and it was constructed along Waterloo Quay (backing on to Ferry Wharf) by 8 June 1905.⁸ In a general sense his choice of architectural style for the building was uncomplicated. Classicism was the established architectural idiom for buildings on Wellington's waterfront; F. de J. Clere's Francophile Head Office and Bond store, 1890, for example, was nearby. The form of

the building, a simple hipped roof block, also had its ancestry in the earliest Georgian structure of its type in New Zealand, the stone store, Kerikeri, 1832-6.

However, sensing that the Custom House marked a departure from the architectural style of other government buildings in Wellington, the Evening Post drew attention to its ornamental arches which it thought relieved 'the sameness of appearance characteristic of many large buildings'.⁹ The arcade, interrupted by a central bay of giant half-columns which extended some of the arches into the attic storey, is without precedent in Campbell's oeuvre. While such arcades were common in the work of American architects such as Henry Hobson Richardson, architects in England had not created similar designs by 1902. Thus when designing the Custom House that year Campbell may well have been influenced by buildings he saw on his visit to the United States about six months earlier. In any case the Custom House is a precursor of the American-inspired buildings erected in New Zealand by Luttrell Brothers, such as the New Zealand Express Company Building, Dunedin, 1908-10.

Despite the American influence, Campbell's interest in the rich ornamentation which characterises Imperial Baroque buildings is revealed. The decorative treatment of the transoms, for example, betrays Campbell's interest in rich ornamentation, though again the particular design of the carvings may well have been influenced by American work. The rich colouring of his contract drawings for the building also betrays his

enthusiasm for the exuberance of the latest English designs and in particular the vibrant colouration of Halsey Ricardo's work. As constructed, however, the building had the same restrained colouring as Campbell's other buildings. It was erected with a granite base, Oamaru stone dressings and ground floor with red brick walls.

28 While the Custom House was under construction the first of Campbell's overtly Imperial Baroque designs was also built nearby, the Wellington Magistrates Court. Campbell created designs for the building in 1901,¹⁰ a tender for its erection on the corner of Lambton Quay and Ballance Street was accepted on 9 May 1902¹¹ and construction was completed the following year.¹² If Scottish Baronial was the appropriate architectural mode for Dunedin's Law Courts (completed just as the Wellington court house was begun), classicism was the obvious architectural choice for those in Wellington. With the construction of P. F. M. Burrow's Supreme Court Buildings (begun in 1879) it was as much the established idiom for Wellington's 'halls of justice' as it was for its waterfront sheds and offices.

When designing the building Campbell introduced new elements which replaced some of those he employed during the 1890s. The new elements include broken segmental and triangular pediments (usually with open-beds but sometimes open-tops as well), Gibbs surrounds, cartouches and rusticated Ionic half-columns which often have drop ornaments between the volutes. The ground floors of his

Baroque buildings are usually rusticated.

Such elements are incorporated for the first time in the Magistrates Court. Their arrangement recalls Belcher's Colchester Town Hall. Like Belcher, Campbell set the centre and end bays of the main (Lambton Quay) facade of his building in aedicules, with two fractured segmental pediments flanking a fractured triangular one. In modelling the building on the Colchester Town Hall, Campbell concentrated on the creation of an impressive facade rather than the grouping of the distinct architectural masses of the Dunedin Law Courts. Whereas the roof of the Dunedin Law Courts is of varied height the Magistrates Court, Wellington, consists of one unbroken two-storey block. Thus, like Belcher, Campbell creates an impressive architectural composition which nevertheless gives little indication of the arrangement of rooms inside the building.

There are, however, notable differences between Campbell's and Belcher's designs. Campbell's solution to turning the corner is less dramatic than Belcher's. By setting another aedicule on the Ballance Street corner of the building he simply reiterates the Lambton Quay design. Most probably the corner tower and oriel windows of Belcher's Colchester Town Hall building were too expensive and impractical a solution for incorporation in a small building in earthquake-prone Wellington. Although the Magistrates Court and the Colchester Town Hall were constructed in brick, the exterior of the Magistrate's Court was plastered. Thus it recalls the English Baroque

architecture erected in stone which was its ultimate inspiration.

If Campbell's design lacks some of the exuberance of Belcher's this restraint was short-lived. The Government Buildings, Shakespeare Road, Napier, (destroyed in the Napier earthquake of 1931) were more ostentatious. Some confusion surrounds their authorship. Charles A. Lawrence forwarded sketch plans for the building to the Secretary of Land Transfer Deeds on 24 August 1901¹³ but Campbell himself sent final designs to the
29,30 Under-secretary on 12 March 1902.¹⁴ Lawrence (1879-1933¹⁵) had been employed by the architectural division of the Public Works Department since 12 January 1899¹⁶ and the inclusion of elements in the design which had been used by the Public Works Department well before his appointment, such as Flemish gables, suggests that the design was at the very least heavily influenced by Campbell, even if it was not entirely his work.

The building has an 'E' shaped plan with projecting central and end bays on the main facade, recalling the composition of the Government Buildings W. H. Clayton erected throughout New Zealand. Despite the symmetry of the composition piecemeal construction was considered.¹⁷ The government planned to erect only one half of the building and continue using the extant timber Government Buildings until the completion of the entire structure at some later date. Campbell calculated separate estimates for the construction of each 'half' ¹⁸ and shortly before the foundation stone was laid on 13 March 1903, the Mayor

of Napier revealed to his constituents that 'they were doing things in respect to Napier, not as a whole, but by halves'.¹⁹ Nevertheless Campbell maintained that the building would have some 'architectural pretensions',²⁰ and successfully sought government approval to supervise its construction himself. This strong personal interest in the building suggests once again that Campbell may have been closely involved with its design.

Tenders were called for the erection of the first half of the structure in October 1902, ²¹ work began under Campbell's supervision shortly after the acceptance of the Bull Brothers tender on 26 November that year ²² and the first portion of the building was completed on 1 November 1904.²³ Shortly afterwards Campbell wrote to the Under-secretary of Public Works stating that the old timber government buildings should

be removed being dangerous, & the addition should be made to [the] new building before it gets toned down in colour when it would give the whole building a patchy appearance on completion.²⁴

However, it was more than a year later (20 December 1905) before plans were completed for the second half of the building²⁵ and the decision to invite tenders was taken.²⁶ Work on constructing the second portion began in early 1906 and the whole building was completed to the original design on 15 March 1907.²⁷

31 The exuberance of the finished work testifies to Campbell's interest in establishing an immediately recognisable state style, expressive of central government presence and authority in the community.

However, despite the incorporation of Baroque elements such as rusticated columns and Gibbs surrounds, Campbell also uses many elements that he employed during the 1890s. The Flemish gables, for example, have their ancestry in his work of the preceding decade. Moreover, the Flemish scroll gables pierced by an obelisque over the end bays of the building recall those used by Shaw at New Scotland Yard, a building which had earlier influenced the design of the Dunedin Gaol building. But while Shaw's influence lingers in this design the building is clearly more vigorous than that architect's late classical buildings such as the Alliance Assurance Offices (designed with Ernest Newton), 1901-5.

Despite the use of elements incorporated in Public Works Department architecture of the 1890s in the Government Buildings, Napier, Campbell continued to create designs in which the play of segmental and triangular pediments is the prime decorative device. The Sydney Street Laboratories for the Mines Department, Wellington, is one such work. Designed in 1903,²⁸ a tender was accepted for its construction on 14 August that year²⁹ and the laboratory was completed in September 1904.³⁰ It had an asymmetrical composition with brick pilaster strips (a feature of Campbell's early work) and open-bed triangular and segmental pediments.

It was within the context of these buildings that Campbell and Richards created designs for one of their best-known and arguably most successful designs, the Public Trust Office, Wellington. Although Campbell's

interest in Belcher's work is prefigured by buildings such as the Wellington Magistrate's Court, the Public Trust Office is in many ways one of the most paradoxical of his designs. It was constructed amidst growing concern about the threat of earthquakes to Wellington's buildings, yet is one of the most ornate of his designs. Similarly, it was erected after a protracted parliamentary debate over the cost of erecting offices for the Public Trust, yet is lavish in its architectural decoration and use of materials. Moreover, situated on some of the most valuable real estate in Wellington it, of all Campbell's Belcher-inspired designs, has survived intact.

Campbell's involvement with the Public Trust precedes the construction of their offices by over a decade. Founded in 1872, the Public Trust Department was first housed in the Government Buildings, Lambton Quay, but in 1886 moved to the Post Office building, on the corner of Featherston and Brandon Streets.³¹ By 1894 that office space was inadequate and the Public Trustee called tenders for new rental accommodation.³² However, after receiving the tenders Cabinet decided to erect a building for the Public Trust Department itself. Accordingly Campbell was instructed 'to prepare plans for the erection of a suitable building to house the Public Trust Department ... in the grounds surrounding the Government Buildings'.³³

Although it is unlikely that designs were in fact prepared, the government's proposal sparked public debate

about the erection of new offices. The Evening Post claimed that the construction of new buildings for the Public Trust was unwarranted. According to their editorial on the subject the large Government Life Insurance Buildings (designed by F. de J. Clere³⁴), which were under construction, should have been designed to accommodate the Public Trust Department.³⁵ The Evening Post also criticised the proposed site for the building. Public Trust Offices should not, it argued, be erected adjacent to the inflammable Government Buildings. In any case, the Evening Post continued, the gardens surrounding those buildings should be preserved 'on the score of appearance'.³⁶ In the event the Public Trust Department moved into the newly completed offices in the Government Life Insurance Building, Customhouse Quay. However, by 1894 the special requirements of the proposed offices had been established: any building constructed for an institution responsible for the safe keeping of public documents should, it had been forcefully asserted, be built to withstand any threat to them.

However, four years later the Public Trustee was again complaining that his accommodation was 'inconvenient, expensive and unsatisfactory in every way'.³⁷ Presumably in response to such complaints the Department was empowered under the Appropriation Act of 1899 'to apply up to £12,000 'out of any balance at credit of the Profit and Loss Account for the purchase of land and the erection of buildings and providing office accommodation and furniture for the Public Trust

Office'.³⁸ Accordingly in 1900 the government authorised the purchase of two sections on the Thorndon reclamation fronting Lambton Quay and Stout Street for £3635, a site which is well clear of the inflammable Government Buildings.

The cost of purchasing the site for the building was critical. Intent on securing a good return on their investment, the government decided that space should be made available in the new building for rental to private businesses. Thus it was decided that the offices should be five stories in height, the lower three floors being occupied by the Public Trust Department itself. Although there were numerous three-storey buildings on Lambton Quay, five-storey structures were uncommon if not unprecedented. Thus the government was apprehensive about the damage that earthquakes might cause to such buildings, and took the decision to employ overseas experts in designing earthquake-resistant buildings; Reid Brothers of San Francisco. Campbell prepared an outline plan of the site and layout of the rooms ³⁹ and Reid Brothers designed an elevation with a steel-frame. ⁴⁰

33 Their designs were completed by 1902 but even before that date the Public Trustee reported that

it has been found that the amount of the office funds authorised by Parliament to be expended in the erection and furnishing of the offices will not be sufficient.⁴¹

The Evening Post also fuelled speculation that Reid Brothers' designs were too costly when it charged that £ 1,400 was paid by the government for designs which were

unsuitable for their purpose.⁴² However, the government maintained that the designs would be used. Seddon explained that Reid Brothers were commissioned because of their expertise in creating a 'class of architecture that was accepted to meet contingencies that arose so often in our colony as the result of earthquakes.'⁴³ And in an oblique reference to Campbell's development of a new government style of architecture, he stated that 'in buildings for all Government Departments they got nothing new in the country if they kept to the one class right through.'⁴⁴ Ironically, he also argued that it 'was doing good'⁴⁵ if the Minister of Public Works (William Hall-Jones) had, in commissioning designs for the Public Trust Offices from Reid Brothers, obtained 'a set of standard plans which could be utilised for all buildings in the colony'.⁴⁶

Although Reid Brothers' design for a steel-frame building was thought to be too expensive to erect, the damage that could be caused by earthquakes to load bearing masonry structures was graphically illustrated in 1904. On 9 August that year the Government Life Insurance Building, which still housed the Public Trust Department, was seriously damaged by 'the heaviest shock felt in the capital since 1855'.⁴⁷ The government's decision to employ Reid Brothers was thus vindicated. On 6 October 1904 Seddon reassured Members of the House of Representatives that Reid Brother's plans were 'an improvement on anything they had in the colony in the direction of being more earthquake-proof'.⁴⁸ Nonetheless,

he hinted that some alteration to them was being considered. There would, he said, 'have to be some modifications if [the office was] not built to the height originally intended.'⁴⁹

Accordingly, a new design for the building⁵⁰ was registered by the Public Works Department on 8 September 34,35 1905.⁵¹ However, the modifications that Seddon hinted might be made to Reid Brothers' work were more extensive than he led the House of Representatives to believe. The design has an entirely different facade and in the event this design, with some minor modifications, was erected.

The design has been attributed to Campbell but in fact its authorship is uncertain. W. F. C. Vine, employed as an architectural cadet under Campbell in 1917, attributes it to Richards. Ultimately any attribution rests on the significance attached to the signatures on the design itself. The signature 'L. L. Richards del.' clearly indicates that Richards draughted (or delineated) the design but the proper significance that should be attached to Campbell's signature is unclear.

Unlike Paton, Richards never established his own personal 'style' of architecture within the department. As Assistant Government Architect he presumably had a much closer working relationship with Campbell than Paton. Richards' involvement in designing other works with open-bed pediments, such as the Mines Department building, confirms the closeness of that working relationship. It is reasonable to assume, then, that there was at the very least some collaboration between

the two architects in creating the designs. Nevertheless the design conforms to the 'government style' established by Campbell as early as 1901 in the Wellington Magistrate's Court building.

However, by September 1906 it was uncertain whether or not the design would be constructed. Cabinet, unnerved by reports of the devastation caused by the San Francisco earthquake, instructed Campbell to redesign the building 'on the steel frame principle'.⁵² In the event no further designs were registered by the Public Works Department. Instead, Campbell advertised for 'alternative tenders for designs marked 'A' and 'B''⁵³ for the construction of the offices. Presumably, he referred to the design draughted in 1905 and the earlier project by Reid Brothers. Despite Cabinet's fears that Campbell's design might not withstand earthquakes the government proceeded with its construction because it proved cheaper than Reid Brothers' to erect. In any event Campbell was convinced that his design would withstand tremors.

Contemporary commentary dwelt on the use of a steel frame in the construction of the building. The journal Progress ventured that the new Public Trust Offices might be 'the only building erected under the system of a rivetted steel frame in advance of the walls' ⁵⁴ and moreover that it was probably the

first building erected in the world with a steel frame the members of which -apart from the floor girders -have only one function, namely, that of giving tensional strength to walls of brick or stone, and binding or tying the walls to each other.⁵⁵

However, a very conventional method of construction was in fact adopted. The steel frame of the Public Trust Office consists of light 'T' sections 'fixed to the rolled steel joists which support concrete floors'⁵⁶ and its brick walls are load-bearing, diminishing in thickness from 560 millimetres at the base to 360 millimetres at the parapet.⁵⁷ Since the 1840s similar 'complete internal skeletons of iron carrying jack arches of brick or tile'⁵⁸ had been erected with walls which 'remained entirely of bearing masonry construction.'⁵⁹ Thus Campbell had simply adopted a traditional building method with which he and his staff were already familiar. The construction of the steel frame prior to the walls may have quelled any fears that the building might not withstand earthquakes but in fact Reid Brothers' design was structurally superior.

Indeed their design had provided a springboard for Campbell. Both architects confronted the same problem. Although the Stout Street side of the Public Trust Office building is by far the longer, Lambton Quay is the more important commercial thoroughfare with more pedestrian traffic. Thus the architects attempted to create an especially impressive facade on the shortest side of the block whilst turning the acute angle from one street to the other. They responded by curving the corner of the building and setting its main entrance at the junction of the two streets. Campbell, however, gave his offices a more dramatic inflection than Reid Brothers by inserting

a large circular drum capped with a dome, set between aedicules, above the curved ground floor. Mewès and Davis's Inveresk House, Aldwych, London, 1906-7⁶⁰ and J.M. Dick Peddie's Edinburgh Life Assurance building, George and Hanover Streets, Edinburgh, 1908-9,⁶¹ form similar compositions.

Ultimately, however, Campbell and Richards were again inspired by Belcher's Colchester Town Hall design. The placement of the giant aedicules has simply been adapted to suit the particular demands of the site. Despite the incorporation of a steel frame in the construction of the building the architectural vocabulary of the facade is that of English Baroque load-bearing structures. The massive blocks of granite of the ground floor, for example, express the weight that floor carries. Other features such as Gibbs surrounds, rusticated columns (at the entrance to the building swags and other decorative carving are other standard elements in Campbell's architectural vocabulary.

At the opening ceremony of the new Public Trust Office on 9 June 1909 the President of the New Zealand Institute of Architects (A. Atkins) described the building as 'distinctly in advance of other public buildings in design, materials, and construction.'⁶² The design was, he thought, 'worked out with a refreshing freedom from over ornamentation which enhanced the granite.'⁶³ In distinct contrast the Evening Post thought that 'the brick appears, to the outward eye,

only sufficiently to set off the facings of Tonga Bay granite.⁶⁴ Whatever their opinion, critics were agreed that the design was restrained. By the time the building was completed the exuberance of Imperial Baroque architecture had thus been fully accepted in New Zealand. It was therefore the natural choice of architectural style for the new offices.

In part, the richness of the design is due to Campbell's use of a wide range of materials; brick (made at Mount Cook Gaol, Wellington, by prison labour), Oamaru stone facings and columns, a reinforced concrete dome and lantern sheathed in copper, polished Aberdeen granite columns at its main entrance and a white marble spiral staircase set in a circular entrance foyer inside.

In fact, the Public Trust Office is clearly more lavish than most government buildings Campbell designed. It seems likely, then, that it represents his approach to designing commercial premises, rather than government offices. The function of the Public Trust as a business and the effect that this had on the design was pointed out by the Evening Post. 'If a solid building is', it stated

a good advertisement for a firm then the Public Trustee must be well pleased with his new quarters. If a stone and brick structure, designed to endure for scores of years, is evidence that a business is flourishing, then the scope of the public trust must be far-reaching. It is really one of the state Departments that ''pay.'' There is no stucco, no cheap make-believe about the impressive offices.⁶⁵

In short, the richness of the decoration was intended

to bolster and maintain public confidence in the work of the Public Trustee as a business. In general, Campbell did not make any differentiation between building type and architectural style. The same architectural elements are used in designing court houses, police stations and post offices. Nevertheless, the richer ornamentation of the Public Trust Office suggests that Campbell, like other Victorian and Edwardian architects, made some differentiation in the amount of ornamentation used to decorate various building types.

However, because New Zealand's Public Trust Department was the first such institution in the world there were no obvious models for the design. In any case, its relief carving is at least suggestive of the Public Trustee's function as the guardian of personal wealth, or the produce or fruits of a life-time's labour. The swags of fruit and decorative foliage around the circular windows are a feature of earlier designs such as the Government Buildings, Napier, but those of the Public Trust office are more richly detailed.

36 The Public Trust Office is the most exuberant of Campbell's work. Before its completion more restrained buildings were being constructed, notably the Government Buildings, Sewell Street, Hokitika. Although the Government Buildings, Hokitika, were designed to house a wide range of government offices they were erected primarily for the Lands and Survey Department. On 21 March 1907 a representative of the Hokitika branch of that department wrote to the Minister of Lands

complaining that their existing timber building was inadequate.⁶⁶ Accordingly the architectural division of the Public Works Department forwarded sketch plans for new offices ⁶⁷ to the Under-secretary of Public Works (H.J.H. Blow) on 22 May 1907.⁶⁸ Contract plans were ready to call tenders for the construction of one half of the building on 13 January 1908⁶⁹ and tender notices were placed in West Coast, Christchurch and Wellington newspapers throughout February of that year.⁷⁰

While the tenders were being considered the Minister of Public Works (William Hall-Jones) suggested that the building should be constructed twenty feet (approximately 6 metres) back from the proposed site to accommodate a memorial statue of Seddon who had died in 1906.⁷¹ Campbell agreed to erect the building further back than he had originally intended but only so as shrubs could be planted.⁷² Twenty feet was not, he thought, a sufficient setting for a statue. Despite the impasse between Campbell and Hall-Jones the integration of statuary into the design of the building itself was not considered. Although it was a common solution in Britain, the opportunity to include sculpture in the design of the building was not seized in New Zealand. Rather Campbell capitulated to Hall-Jones's request⁷³ and a statue was unveiled in front of the building on 25 May 1910.⁷⁴ Meanwhile a tender was accepted for the construction of the first half of the building on 12 March 1908⁷⁵ and construction of that portion was completed on 8 June 1909.⁷⁶

Like the Government Buildings, Napier, those in Hokitika stood incomplete for some time. However, Campbell was not as anxious about finishing the buildings as he was about their Napier counterparts. The department's work had increased to such an extent that he found it difficult to find time to complete contract drawings for the second half. Thus in June 1911 he responded to a request for plans for the final portion by stating that he was too busy to supply them.⁷⁷ However, by 23 November that year the Public Works Department was authorised to invite tenders for the construction of the final section of the design,⁷⁸ John Drake's tender was accepted on 9 January 1912⁷⁹ and the building was completed by the end of 1913.⁸⁰

The finished work invites comparison with both the Government Buildings, Napier, and the Public Trust Office, Wellington. Its 'centre and ends' composition is descended from the former work and the Belcher inspired aedicules from the latter. However, the Government Buildings, Hokitika, are slightly more restrained than those earlier works. There are no Gibbs surrounds and although the keystones and aprons of the windows are large they do not protrude from the wall surface as far as those of the Government Buildings, Napier, or the Public Trust Office, Wellington. The building is indicative of the greater repose of Campbell's work of the second decade of the twentieth-century.

By the time the Government Buildings, Hokitika, were completed Paton had assumed responsibility for designing

most of the government offices constructed throughout the dominion.⁸¹ The giant aedicules inspired by Belcher are not incorporated in Paton's designs and the familiar red brick of Campbell's work is generally plastered and painted. Paton's designs such as the Magistrates Court, Auckland, 1911,⁸² and the Government Buildings in Hamilton, 1912-13⁸³ and Gisborne, 1913-14,⁸⁴ have a stately restraint more characteristic of Campbell's classical project for the Dunedin Railway Station design than Campbell's work of the first decade of the twentieth-century.

It is unlikely, however, that Campbell was oblivious to the creation of such designs in his department; at the very least he approved their construction. And to judge by some of his last works, such as the Greymouth and Masterton Court Houses, his own designs became more restrained. The Greymouth Court House, begun in 1911 and completed in 1912⁸⁵ and the Masterton Court House, built during the same years,⁸⁶ have the familiar open-bed pediments of Campbell's work but little additional ornamentation. Bay windows at the ends of the building have an ancestry which stretches back to the Porirua Asylum building. However, most of the brick of the two court houses is clad in Oamaru stone. Thus the vigorous striped banding of Campbell's earlier work has been superseded by a more restrained cladding. Campbell may well have been inspired by H. V. Lanchester and E. A. Rickards' Law Courts and Municipal Buildings, Cardiff, 1897-1904, whose long ranges are terminated with bay

windows. If in fact he was influenced by this building presumably his Assistant Government Architect, the Welshman, Llewelyn Lincoln Richards, was also involved with their design.

This same restraint is also evident in Campbell's larger designs such as the Wellington Police Station.

39 Begun in mid 1914⁸⁷ the Police Station was not completed until 1917.⁸⁸ It occupies a full block between Johnston and Waring Taylor Streets and consists of two wings, one fronting each street, joined 'by a solid annexe three stories in height'.⁸⁹ The annexe contains 'some 45 cells for male and female prisoners, including some padded apartments for the most obstreperous clients of the future.' ⁹⁰

The use of materials in the construction of the building is characteristic of Campbell's architecture; pressed red brick relieved with cement facings. However, its central colonnade is simply capped by a parapet rather than the fractured pediments of his earlier work. The design as a whole is not as ostentatious as earlier works. In fact the Dominion complained that the 'puny main entrances' ⁹¹ are 'hardly in accord with the stateliness of the general design'⁹² and 'could have been twice the width without exaggerating those important features.'⁹³ The corbelling of the colonnade from the wall (like the aedicules of the Public Trust Office) is reminiscent of Campbell's classical project for the Dunedin Railway Station with its central temple front raised above a ground floor. Similarly the meander

pattern impressed on either side of the sign reading 'Police' recalls Campbell's early training in Greek architectural ornamentation under Gordon.

Although the building is very different from Belcher's exuberant Imperial Baroque architecture, the use of a Union Jack motif as a decorative element underneath some of the hood-moulds reveals that the imperial sentiment of Campbell's earlier work lingers. However, the design is, like other buildings of the period, more restrained than earlier Edwardian public buildings, inviting comparison with other palazzo-inspired architecture such as J. C. Maddison's Government Buildings, Christchurch, 1911-13.

Characteristically, the Central Police Station, Wellington, inspired a very similar building, the
40 Taranaki Street Police Station in the same city. Begun on 11 March 1915⁹⁴ this smaller work consists of a two storied administration block with 'a group of connected cells on the northern side of the section at the rear.'⁹⁵ By substituting pilasters for the half columns of the Central Police Station design and continuing them down into a rusticated ground floor, Campbell compressed the four storey Central Police Station design into one of only half its height.

With the construction of these more restrained designs Campbell had come full circle: his last works recalling his earliest known New Zealand design, the classical project for Dunedin Railway Station. Although Campbell was not the only New Zealand architect to be

influenced by Belcher's Colchester Town Hall his works are perhaps some of the most successful. Moreover, the proliferation of buildings in Wellington with giant aedicules (such as William Turnbull's Whitcombe and Tombs building, Lambton Quay, 1907,⁹⁶ and Henry E. White's St James theatre, Courtenay Place, 1912⁹⁷) is very likely due to the success of the Public Trust Office building. His Imperial Baroque buildings in general are notable for their inventive use of a limited range of architectural elements in the creation of an immediately recognisable government style.

- 1 Richard Norman Shaw commenting on John Belcher's entry in the architectural competition for the Colchester Town Hall printed in The Builder and quoted in Alastair Service, 'John Belcher's Colchester Town Hall and the Edwardian Grand Manner', Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, vol. 5, 1973, p. 229.
- 2 Ibid, pp. 232-3.
- 3 Ibid, p. 225.
- 4 See Alastair Service, Edwardian Architecture, A Handbook to Building Design in Britain 1890 -1914, London, 1977, p. 154.
- 5 See E. J. A. Weller, 'Treasury Building Precinct Brisbane', Historic Public Buildings of Australia, (Australian Council of National Trusts), vol. 2, Melbourne, 1971, pp. 269-70.
- 6 See Brian Kearney, Architecture in Natal from 1824 to 1893, Cape Town, 1973, p. 240, figure 517.
- 7 'For Record Jno Campbell June 1902' is written on P.W.D. 19848.
- 8 See Evening Post, 9 June 1905, p. 2.
- 9 Ibid, 24 May 1905, p. 2.
- 10 See P.W.D 19654.
- 11 See W 35/ 2, folio 332.
- 12 See A.J.H.R., 1903, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 54 and Ibid, 1904, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 57.
- 13 W1, 24/ 162, Part 1, Lawrence to Secretary Land Transfer Deeds, 24 August 1901.
- 14 Ibid, Campbell to Under-secretary [of Public Works?], 12 March 1902.
- 15 Date of birth 10 December 1872. See W 14, vol. 3/63.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 See Ibid, Campbell to Under-secretary of Public Works, 12 March 1902 and Ibid, Campbell to Under-secretary of Public Works, 25 June 1902.
- 18 See Ibid, Campbell to Under-secretary of Public Works, 12 March 1902.
- 19 Hawkes Bay Herald, 13 March 1903, p. 3.

20 W 1, 24/ 162, Part 1, Campbell to Under-secretary of Public Works, 5 December 1902.

21 Ibid, see PW 02/ 1586, Under-secretary of Public Works to Chief Postmaster, Napier, 11 October 1902.

22 Ibid, 'Acceptance of tender', no. 138/ 1083.

23 Ibid, Campbell to Under-secretary of Public Works, 5 December 1904. The main building was completed by 1 May and occupied then but other work delayed the completion of the contract until 1 November.

24 Ibid, Campbell to Under-secretary, 14 March 1904, p.2.

25 See P.W.D. 20708.

26 W1, 24/ 162, Part 1, Campbell to Blow (Under-secretary of Public Works) 21 December 1906.

27 Ibid, Campbell to Under-secretary of Public Works, 15 March 1907.

28 Tenders had been called in August. See, for example, the clipping from New Zealand Times, 3 August 1903 in W33, 835.

29 See W33, 835.

30 A.J.H.R., 1905, D.-1, Appendix E, p.35.

31 See C. W. Vennell, A Century of Trust; A History of the New Zealand Public Trust Office, 1873- 1973, Auckland, 1973, p.57.

32 See for example Evening Post, 1 January 1894, p.1

33 Ibid, 31 January 1894, p. 2 and quoted in 'Public Trust Office Wellington', Newsletter of the Wellington Regional Committee of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, vol. 1, no.3, October 1976, p.13, and Christopher Cochran, 'Capital City Buildings' in Historic Buildings of New Zealand, North Island (Frances Porter, ed.), Auckland, 1979, 1983, p. 242.

34 See the photograph of Clere's design, 11231/2 A. T. L.

35 Evening Post, 3 February 1894, p. 2.

36 Ibid.

37 A.J.H.R., 1899, H.-12, p.1. and Vennell, p. 64.

38 Vennell, p.65. See also A.J.H.R., 1900, H.-11, p.1.

- 39 See P.W.D. 19228 and P.W.D. 19329.
- 40 See P.W.D. 20088.
- 41 A.J.H.R., 1901, H.-12, p.1.
- 42 Evening Post, 5 October 1903, p.,2.
- 43 N.Z.P.D., vol. 125, 1903, p. 74.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 See C. W. Vennell, Tower of Strength; A Centennial History of the New Zealand Government Life Insurance Office 1869 - 1969, Auckland, 1969, p. 137. During the earthquake 'Towers and parapets fell from the building narrowly missing people rushing out'.
- 48 N.Z.P.D., vol. 130, 1904, p. 743.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 P.W.D. 21596.
- 51 See 'Public Trust Office, Wellington', Card index to Public Works Department maps, Plan Records, Ministry of Works and Development, Wellington.
- 52 New Zealand Mail, 5 September 1906, p.44.
- 53 See, for example, Press, 3 October 1906, p.10.
- 54 'Public Trust Buildings, Lambton Quay', Progress, August 1908, p.339.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Richard Daniels, 'The Old Public Trust Building, A Renovation Case Study', Bachelor of Architecture Research Report, University of Wellington, 1986, p.9.
- 57 Ibid, p.7.
- 58 Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Architecture; Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Middlesex, 1983 edition, p.328.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Illustrated in Service, Edwardian Architecture; A Handbook..., p.159, plate 195.
- 61 Ibid, p. 185, plate 235.

- 62 Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail, 16 June 1909, p. 16.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Evening Post, 8 June 1909, p.8.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 W1, 24/70/1, Lands and Survey Department, Hokitika, to Under-secretary of Lands.
- 67 P.W.D. 23332
- 68 W1, 24/70/1, Architect [Campbell?] to Mr. Blow [Under-secretary for Public Works], 22 May 1907.
- 69 Ibid, Campbell to Blow [Under-secretary of Public Works], 13 January 1908.
- 70 A list of newspapers in which tender notices were placed and their dates is contained in Ibid, P.W. 08/640.
- 71 Ibid, Hall-Jones [to Under-secretary?].
- 72 Ibid, note at foot of page dated 3 March 1908.
- 73 Ibid, PW 08/1435, Seddon to Hall-Jones suggesting site for statue. See the note at the foot of the page, Campbell [to Under-secretary] in which Campbell agrees to provide space for the statue and suggests a site for it.
- 74 See Weekly Press, 23 February 1910, p.37 and Ibid, 8 June 1910, p.34.
- 75 W1, 24/70/1, Thomson (Resident Engineer) to Under-secretary [of Public Works], n.d.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Ibid, Seddon to McKenzie, 7 June 1911, Campbell's reply at the foot of the page.
- 78 Ibid, PW 09/ 8063, note from Short(?) to [Campbell?], 'approved to invite tenders 23. 11. 11.'
- 79 Ibid, 'Public Works Tender Board, Schedule of tenders received for Hokitika Public Buildings Extension'.
- 80 See Weekly Press, 22 October 1913, p. 38.
- 81 Correspondence with Mr W.F.C. Vine, 1 December 1986.
- 82 See P.W.D. 2230. Paton is noted as the architect of designs for the Auckland courthouse, P.W.D. 29822 (also known as P.W.D. 2230), in W16/9, folio 57. See also W33 1912.

83 See A.J.H.R., 1912, D.-1, Appendix F, p.83 and Ibid, 1913, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 79. This building is included in the list of works designed by Paton. Private collection: Mrs Mouat, Wellington.

84 See Progress, June 1913, p.531 and W33, 2381, p.1. A tender was accepted for the construction of the building on 29 July 1913 and the contractors agreed to complete it by 29 October 1914.

85 See W33 1866. Tenders were called in June 1911 (see for example, the Greymouth Star, 17 June 1911, p.1) and one was accepted on 31 July 1911 (see W33 1866, Contract , p.1.) The Grey River Argus and Blackball News, 14 December, 1912, p.5. noted that an iron fence was nearly completed around the building, finishing the work associated with its erection.

86 See the Dominion, 3 August 1911, p.3 and A.J.H.R., D.-1, Appendix F, 1911, p.86.

87 See Dominion, 8 November 1917, p.7.

88 See Progress, January 1918, p.107 and 109.

89 Dominion, 8 November 1917, p.7.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid, 12 March 1915, p.7.

95 Ibid.

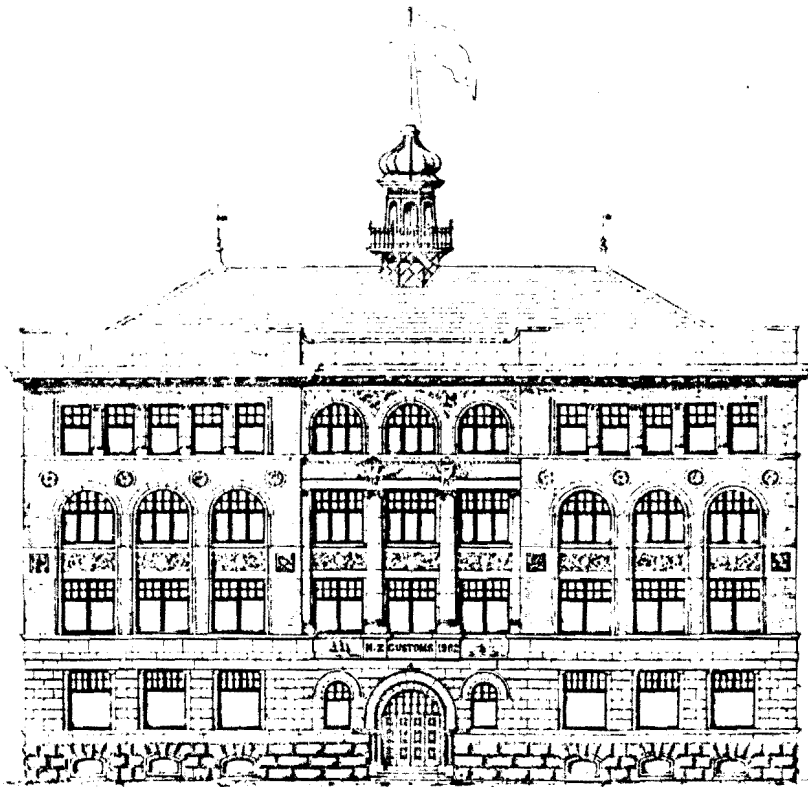
96 See Jim McKenzie, 'Head Office Country; South Lambton Quay', The Past Today: Historic Places in New Zealand, (John Wilson ed.), Auckland, 1987, p.163. The photograph depicts the building after the pediments were removed.

97 See Cattell, p. 41, plate 49.

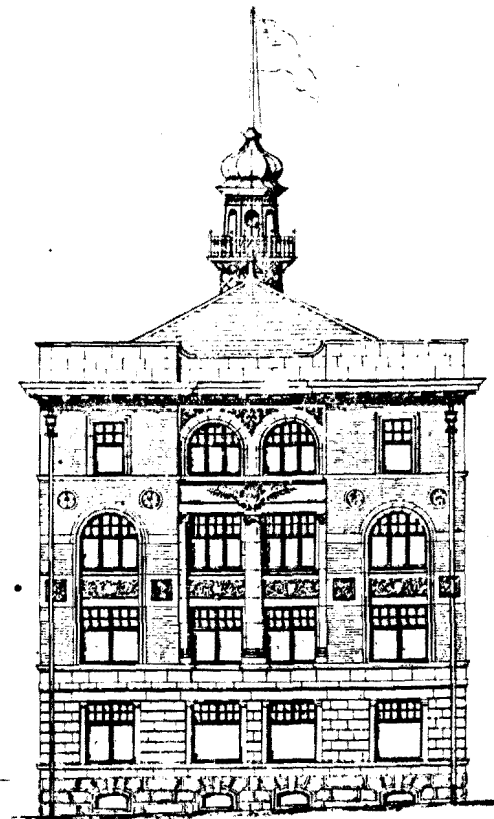
CUSTOM HOUSE WELLINGTON.

0 10 20 30 40 50
Scale of feet

61-21



ELEVATION TO WATERLOO QUAY.



SOUTH ELEVATION.

P.W.D. 19848

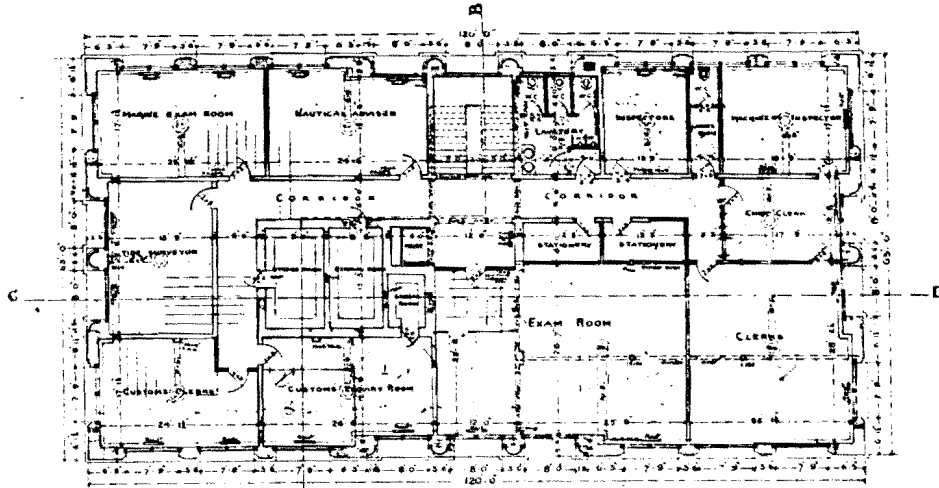
122



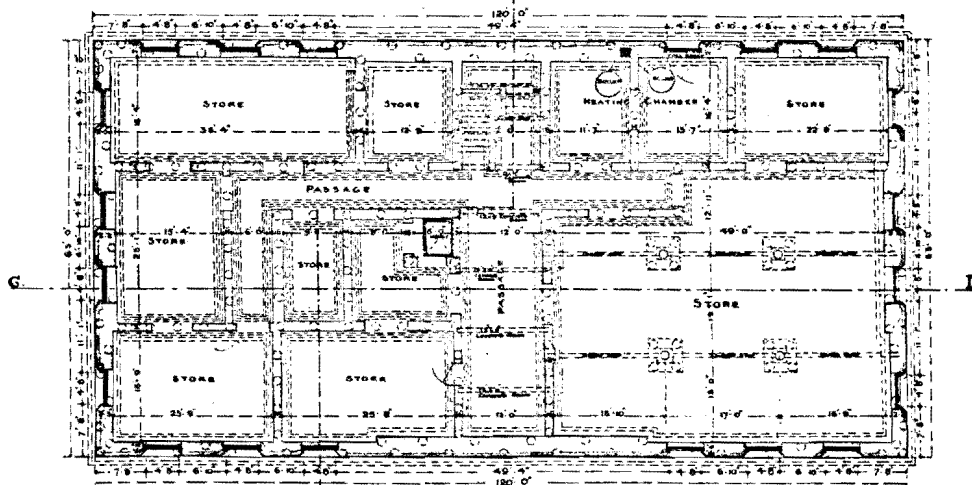
CUSTOM HOUSE WELLINGTON.

②

Scale 1/4" = 10' Feet



FIRST FLOOR PLAN.

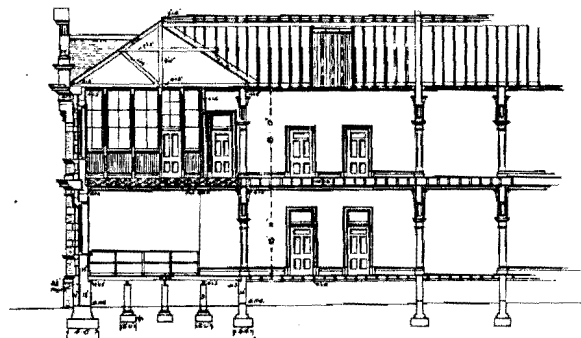


BASEMENT PLAN.

8-14

P.W.D.19848.





SECTION B.B.

CONTRACT No. 2.
DRAWING No. 2.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS
NAPIER.

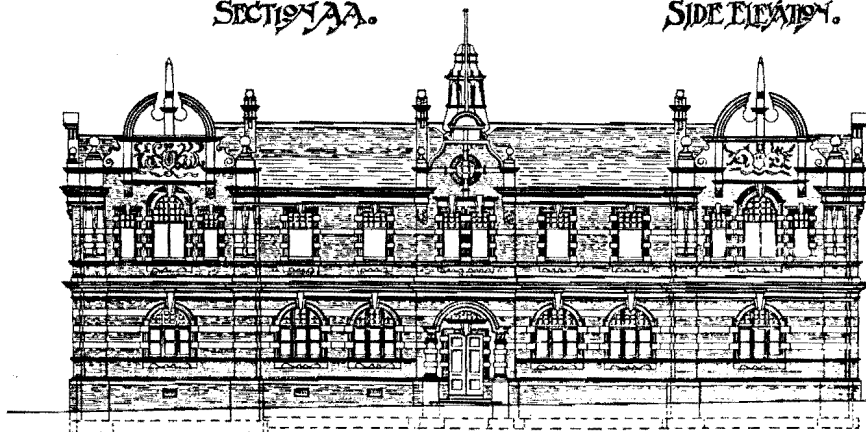
Scale: Eight feet to an inch



SECTION A.A.



SIDE ELEVATION.



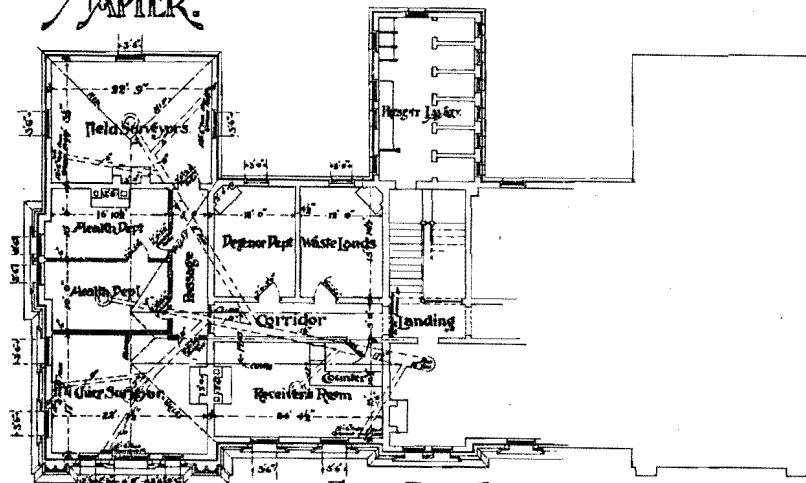
FRONT ELEVATION.

535
P.W.D. 20708

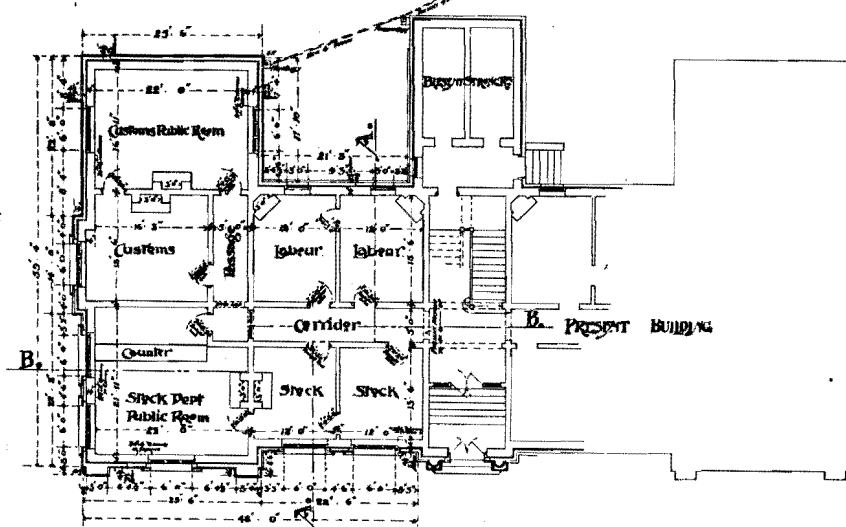
CONTRACT NO 2.
DRAWING NO 1.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS
NAPIER.

Scale: Eight Feet to an Inch.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN.



GROUND FLOOR PLAN.

535
P.W.D.20708.

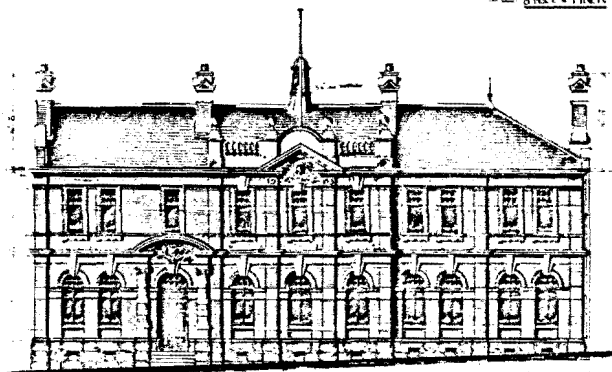


— PROPOSED LABORATORY — Sydney St. Wellington

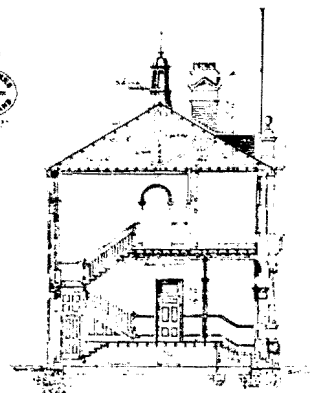
— for the —
— MINES DEPARTMENT —

— Scale —
— Feet — 1 inch — Feet

Sheet N°2



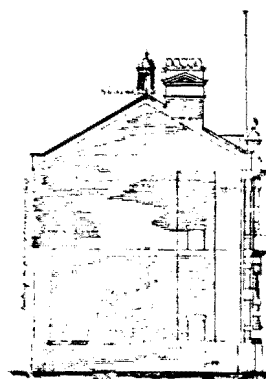
— FRONT ELEVATION —



— SECTION —



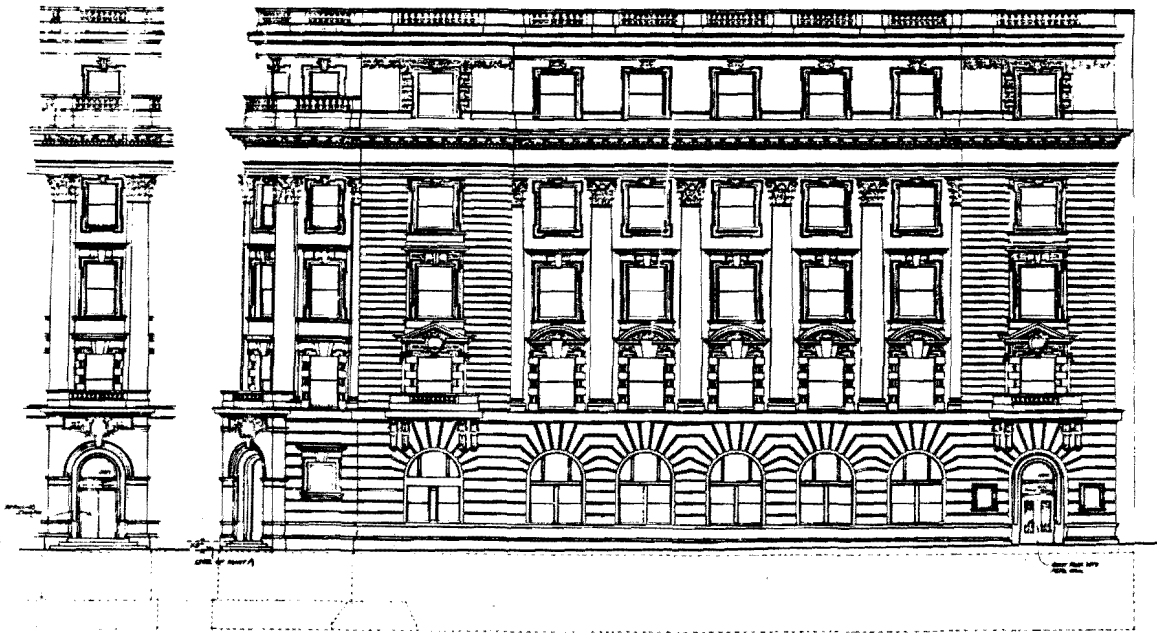
— BACK ELEVATION —



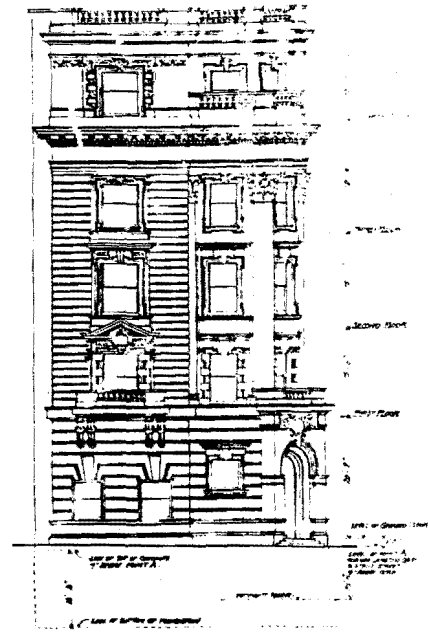
— END ELEVATION —

2/2

P.W.D. 20351
RECORD SET P W D 20351



ELEVATION - STOUT STREET



ELEVATION - LAMBTON QUAY

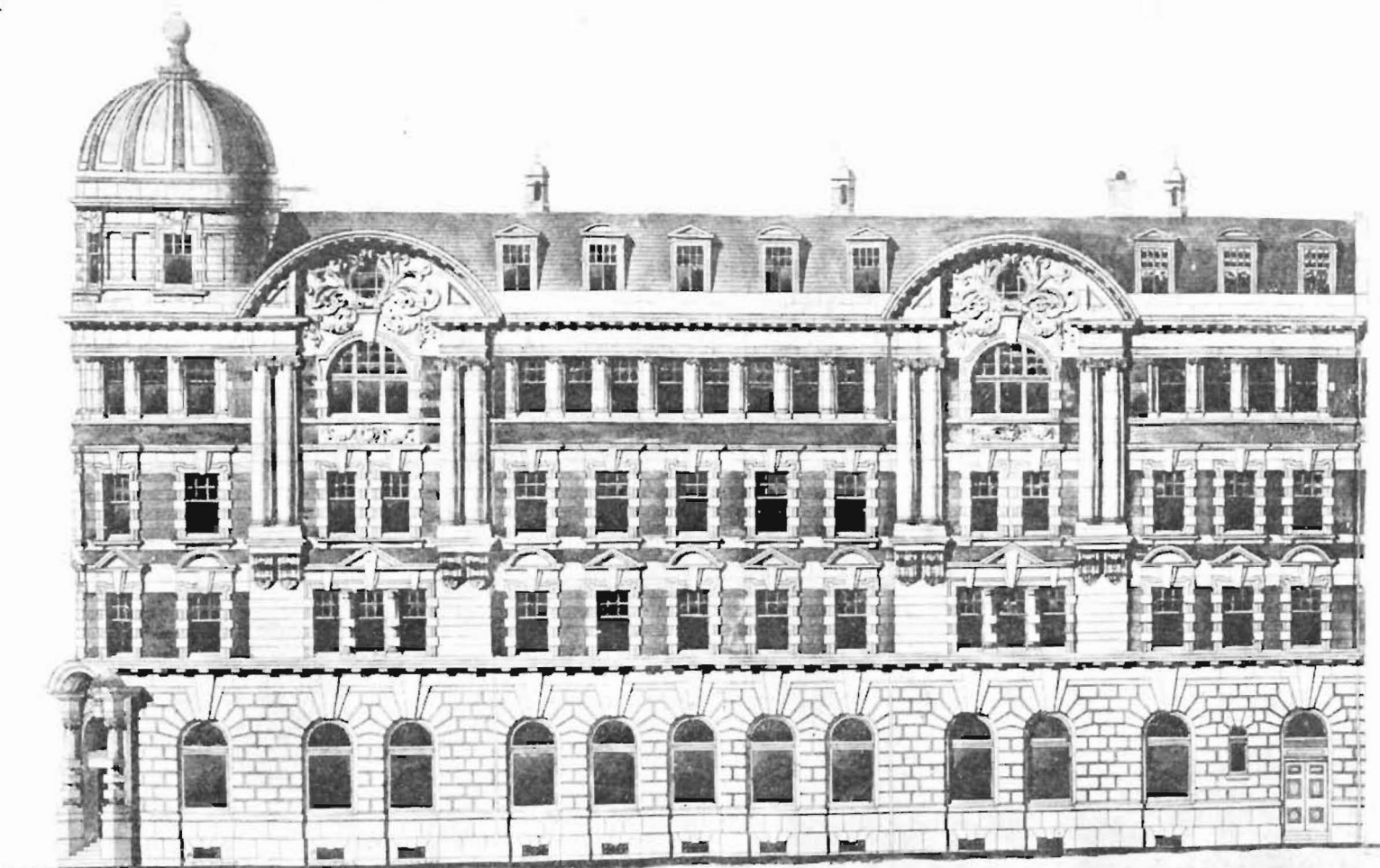
PUBLIC TRUST OFFICE BUILDING
WELLINGTON
NEW ZEALAND

SCALE: 1/4" = 1 FOOT

REID BROTHERS ARCHITECTS
600 FRANKLIN ST. USA

P.N.O. 0668

15-26
SHEET NO. (4)



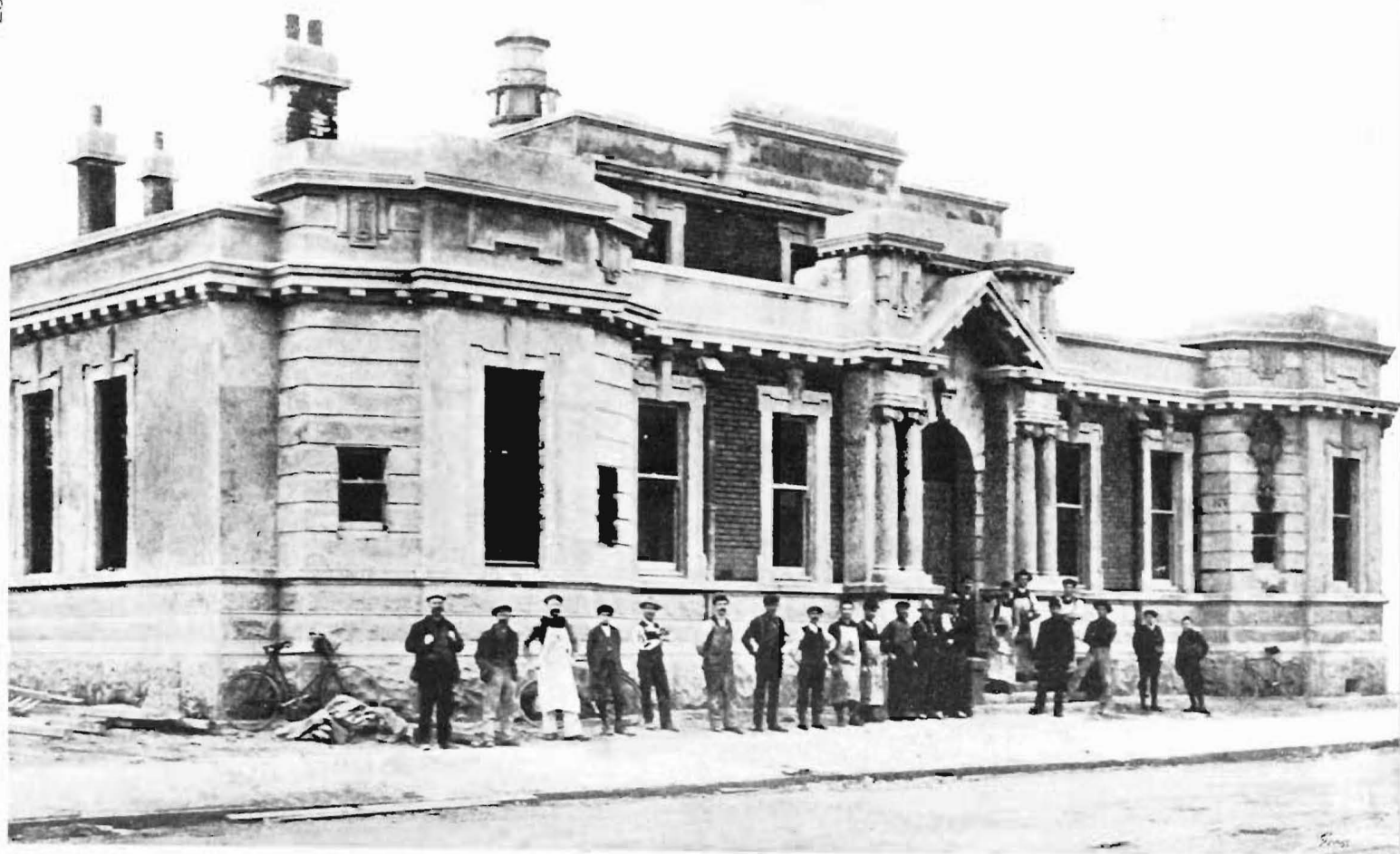
ELEVATION TO STOUT STREET

P.W.D. 21596
W. H. Smith





Public Market Buildings, Yokohama, Japan







39



40

Chapter 4

The Post Office Building Boom.

c. 1900- c. 1914

The vigilance of the colonial post office in ensuring that the mail reached its intended destination whatever the impediments, difficult terrain or native resistance, has become folklore in many post colonial nations. According to such anecdote, colonial mail coaches battled almost impenetrable bush, rivers and mountain ranges in the belief that 'the mail must get through'. Each of them was destined for one of the small post office buildings sprinkled along the 'chain of Empire'.¹

Underlying this folklore, however exaggerated, are notions about conquering the land, quelling its indigenous inhabitants and creating a sense of national and imperial unity by linking disparate settlements scattered across the globe. The ultimate destination of the imperial mail - a colonial post and telegraph office - is viewed as a sentinel of government authority in a potentially hostile environment. Whatever the excesses of this view, post office buildings were often conceived as monuments to colonial progress and symbols of government presence in frontier communities. Thus, while we might find a post office building modelled on colonial prototypes erected today to be 'overblown, as if the architect were pandering unnecessarily to the public yearning for instant antiquity',² Campbell's generation could hardly find any such building pretentious.

Nevertheless imperial post office buildings ranged in size and architectural ostentation from Sir Henry Tanner's General Post Office, King Edward Street, London, 1907-11, to the many corrugated iron sheds erected in distant outposts such as Alice Springs, Australia.³ However, a large number of lavish post office buildings were constructed in Edwardian New Zealand and almost all of them were designed by the architectural division of the Public Works Department under Campbell's aegis.

The spate of activity in erecting such buildings was allied with the completion of the main trunk line in the North Island in 1908; the replacement of old timber buildings with those in 'permanent materials' and the spread of telegraphic and telephonic communication throughout the colony. In time, such technological and material advancement, coupled with the general growth of state services under the Liberal Government, made for a post office building boom which was the lifeblood of the architectural division of the Public Works Department from the turn of the century until the First World War.

However, despite the large number of buildings under construction during this period a single post office style emerged only slowly. Instead, Campbell designed offices in the same range of architectural styles that he used for other government buildings. Thus the same transition from Queen Anne to Imperial Baroque evident in his designs for other building types can also be traced in his post offices. Likewise the same development of Baroque styles recurs. Campbell's most exuberant

designs for post offices were created around 1905. Buildings constructed during the second decade of the twentieth-century are more restrained. However, those similarities which arose between post offices and buildings of other types were not always intended. Rather they were the natural result of design processes; a wide range of building types would be commissioned at once and ideas would flow freely from one design to the next and thus from one building type to another.

Nevertheless Campbell's post offices deserve to be considered as a separate group. In an attempt to cope with a workload which at times threatened to cripple rather than sustain his department, Campbell made some attempt to standardise the architectural design of post office buildings. He did so amidst mounting criticism of the designs themselves. In 1910 the Member of the House of Representatives for Tauranga (William Herbert Herries) charged that Campbell's post offices were 'the most hideous structures that had been erected for years'⁴ and that 'The Government Architect offended every artistic eye in every building that was erected by him'.⁵ In fact there could be little respite from such criticism. Campbell worked, as the Member for Hutt (Thomas Mason Wilford) observed, 'to a kind of plan or rule'⁶ like 'a cook with one gravy'.⁷ Thus when designing post offices, Campbell again developed a range of forms which he used repeatedly but in differing combinations and to differing effect. Nevertheless the criticism of his post office buildings was sporadic. Its isolated outbursts never

seriously threatened his professional reputation or altered his approach to the design of such buildings.

The controversy is perhaps more interesting for what was not said, rather than the comments themselves. Throughout the debate few if any of Campbell's critics acknowledged the advantages of standardisation. No mention was made of the possibility of establishing a recognisable post office style, nor reducing the cost of the buildings and minimising mistakes in their construction. In fact the debate echoes the nineteenth-century controversy over the superiority of unique, hand-crafted artifacts rather than the products of the machine age; a debate which had its roots in John Ruskin, William Morris and Thomas Carlyle's condemnation of a society which 'had itself become mechanical'.⁸

However, because so many of the Public Works Department's post office designs are so similar Campbell's authorship of many of them is difficult to establish unequivocally. His signature appears on almost all surviving drawings for post office buildings designed under his aegis. Clearly, however, the creation of a new post office style can itself be credited to him. While it is unlikely that he designed many of the smaller buildings he developed the architectural vocabulary used in their design and approved their construction. Moreover, in the design of post offices, more than any other building type, Campbell established Imperial Baroque as a new government style by virtue of the sheer number of such buildings he erected throughout New

Zealand. Thus while many of his post office buildings are small, collectively their importance in establishing a new government style throughout New Zealand is difficult to underestimate.

Campbell created three basic 'models' for post office buildings. The simplest one was developed for small suburban and provincial post offices; the second and more complex, for the larger post offices erected on the main streets of the larger provincial towns; and the third was developed for the new chief or general post offices constructed in Auckland and Wellington between 1908 and 1912. Because the latter were erected near the end of the post office building boom Campbell was able to first develop and refine his designs in his smaller works.

1 Small Town and Suburban Post Offices

The form of most of Campbell's small post office buildings is little different from that of other provincial government buildings designed by the Public Works Department. With only a few exceptions they consist of a one or two-storey block with hipped roof and central gable. They are generally three bays wide and about 9 by 10 metres in size. They have their ancestry in many of Campbell's large buildings which consist of similar pavilions linked and combined in various ways, such as the Dunedin Law Courts, 1899-1902, and the Sumner Deaf and Mute Institute, Christchurch, 1902. However, in designing small post offices Campbell was able to develop

this form in its own right rather than as a subsidiary element in larger compositions.

The simple form of Campbell's small post office buildings belies the complexity of their plans. In keeping with nineteenth and early twentieth-century commercial practice each building consists of both a public office and a private residence. The business offices are in general located on the ground floor and the domestic quarters on the first, an arrangement which was as common for small shops and banks as it was for post offices. Thomas Lambert (one of Campbell's staff during the post office building boom) had earlier constructed the Bank of New Zealand, Kaiapoi, 1883,⁹ to a similar plan.

Entrance to the post office buildings is through a central lobby. Rooms on the ground floor communicate with each other, their arrangement reflecting the general flow of business itself. By contrast rooms upstairs in the two-storey post offices are arranged (like those of many Victorian and Edwardian houses) on either side of a central corridor. This strict separation of the public and private quarters is relaxed at the rear of the buildings where the kitchen, dining and scullery rooms are located adjacent to the business areas. They are, however, treated as one storey additions (often skillions) protruding from the rear of the offices, thereby maintaining some distinction between the public and private quarters of the buildings.

However, many of Campbell's small post office

buildings were constructed in timber and are generally only one storey in height. The wall surfaces are divided by vertical and horizontal battens which frame the doors and windows. Buildings with rusticated weatherboards and such battens were erected at Cheviot, 1895,¹⁰ Paeroa, 41,42 1896,¹¹ Pungarehu, 1904,¹² Dargaville 1902,¹³ and Apiti, 1908,¹⁴ post offices. The battens recall the half-timbering of some Tudor and Elizabethan structures which were, like English Baroque buildings of the early eighteenth-century, viewed as peculiarly British. While such timber post offices are therefore eloquent of New Zealand's connections with Britain, Campbell nevertheless believed that 'being limited to timber instead of brick imposes limitations in the way of securing impressiveness or dignity'.¹⁵ Timber buildings were also a fire risk and would not, Campbell thought, survive as long as structures erected in brick. Thus, whenever funds were available, he designed post office buildings in 'permanent materials'.

The ornamentation of Campbell's first post offices constructed in brick during the post office building boom can be compared with transitional Baroque works such as the Temuka and Bluff Court houses. One such post office was built at Opunake. Begun in late 1900, it replaced an earlier timber structure which, with the construction of the new office, was converted into a post-master's residence.¹⁶ Designs were created for the new building in December 1899,¹⁷ a contract was signed for its erection on 27 August 1900¹⁸ and the building was completed in

1901.¹⁹

Like most of Campbell's designs of the 1890s the
43 facade of the Opunake Post Office is divided by pilaster
strips, string courses and bands of Oamaru stone. Within
this grid patterning, which links the window sills and
'ties' the pediments into the composition, Campbell also
incorporated elements which testify to his training in
Greek architectural ornamentation under Gordon.
Palmettes, for example, flank the cartouche bearing the
date of the building and volutes are incorporated in the
door surrounds, the aprons under the window sills, the
scroll pediments and brackets on either side of the
parapet. This boldly modelled and playful decoration
enhances an otherwise very simple brick block which
recalls Campbell's Dutch-inspired buildings of the 1890s.

Comparable, though less ornate, small post office
buildings were designed for small towns and suburbs
throughout New Zealand. They represent Campbell's first
attempt to establish a new post office style throughout
the dominion. In June 1899 ²⁰ Campbell designed the
44 modest two bay Petone Post Office, erected in 1900²¹ but
much enlarged in 1914.²² Another, three-bay building,
45 designed in May 1900,²³ was begun in Eketahuna
about June of that year²⁴ and opened on 14 March 1901.²⁵
A very similar building was erected the same year in 46
Inglewood.²⁶ However, the most substantial of them, 47
46.5. was erected in Hamilton in 1900-01²⁷ and much enlarged in
1915.²⁸ Like the Opunake Post Office these buildings have
pilaster strips and string courses as well as alternating

bands of brick and concrete or Oamaru stone. The central gables vary widely from the scroll pediments of the Eketahuna and Inglewood post offices to the elaborate shaped gable with shell tympanum of the Hamilton building. However, the door surrounds are almost identical and clearly became one of the stock elements in Campbell's architectural vocabulary. They consist of pilaster strips which support large brackets topped by pediments.

In 1903 the Public Works Department gave new post office buildings a slightly different inflection. The designs were still much influenced by Dutch buildings in particular, van Campen's Mauritshuis at the Hague, 1633-5. This influence may have been direct but it is more likely that Campbell had in mind Dutch-inspired English architecture such as Hugh May's Eltham Lodge, London, 1663-4, (which influenced Wren) and Shaw's 170 Queen's Gate, Kensington, London, 1887-8. By using such buildings as models the Public Works Department hinted that post offices were also private residences.

48 One of the first of these new 'Wrenaissance' post offices was built in Onehunga, Auckland, in 1901.²⁹ It has the same tripartite composition as Campbell's other small post offices buildings but its Oamaru stone pilasters with properly carved capitals recalls May's design. Baroque elements, which were to become a hallmark of Campbell's post offices, are also introduced such as a rusticated door surround and pilasters. The incorporation of the pediments into a string course

between the two floors also testifies to Campbell's more playful approach to combining architectural elements used in many of his post office buildings. A similar building was opened in Temuka in June 1902,³⁰ designs for which had been created in June of the previous year³¹ by a Public Works Department draughtsman, James Baine. They had, however, escaped Campbell's attention and were sent by Charles Lawrence to the Engineer in Chief of the Public Works Department for his approval.³²

When Campbell again took full responsibility for designing small post offices he further standardised their treatment, creating one design which was erected in at least three locations. The design was constructed as the Spit Post Office, Port Ahuriri, Napier, (begun 2 October 1902 ³³ and opened on 24 June 1903 ³⁴); the Woodville Post Office, (begun 19 October 1903 ³⁵ and completed in 1904 ³⁶) and the Winton Post Office, (designed in 1903 ³⁷, begun by 31 January 1905³⁸ and completed in 1906³⁹). Campbell's decision to erect this one design in three places reveals his confidence in the design itself and his intention to establish Baroque as the new government style for the erection of post offices throughout New Zealand. Some link between the department's earlier Baroque post offices and the new post offices was made when James Baine, who had designed the Temuka Post Office, draughted the contract drawings for at least one of the new buildings, the Spit Post Office.⁴⁰

The Spit, Woodville, and Winton designs were in fact

more robust than post offices constructed before 1903. In all of the buildings the pediments are left unsupported as accents in the composition climaxing in the scroll pediments over the entrances. Other detailing such as the heavy rustication of the door surround, the Gibbs surrounds of some of the windows and the open-bed pediments over the central bays, testify to the increasingly Baroque character of Campbell's small post office buildings. Later designs were related to this group of buildings but were still more overtly Baroque.

- 53 The Oxford Street Post Office, Levin, (opened on 17 August 1903⁴¹) was one the first of many very similar small post office buildings erected throughout New Zealand. However, again, Campbell did not make any radical innovations in design⁴² but rather simply omitted some of the ornamentation of earlier buildings and emphasised the remaining Baroque decoration. Thus the string courses and pilaster strips of earlier offices have been omitted while the rustication of the dressings is more pronounced. However, the Oxford Street building differed from other small post offices in one very obvious way; it was roughcast.

Campbell instructed the contractor for the building, F. G. Alfrey, to plaster its exterior walls with coloured cement, thus disguising the use of lower quality, cheaper bricks. The exterior walls were coloured with 'ochre to approval'⁴³ and quartz gravel was thrown on while the plaster was wet. The dressings were covered with cement plaster 'coloured to approval with haematite'.⁴⁴ By 1902

many buildings in New Zealand had been constructed in concrete (and some of Campbell's own Porirua Hospital wards had been plastered with 'grey' cement) but Campbell was seemingly little interested in finishing his post offices in this fashion.

Despite plastering the exterior of the Levin Post Office building he retains the warm colouration of his brick buildings. Its yellow ochre walls and red haematite detailing, recalls the colouration of E. R. Robson's designs. Robson's preference for yellow ochre (brown) London stock brick relieved with red dressings⁴⁵ is clearly revealed by his Board Schools, which had influenced Campbell during the 1890s. With its sash windows painted with white lead, the Levin Post Office retains the aspect of such Queen Anne brick buildings despite being rendered in concrete.

54 Very similar post offices were constructed in Eltham, 1904,⁴⁶ (enlarged 1911-2⁴⁷), Bulls, 1905-6⁴⁸ (altered in 1910⁴⁹ after a fire destroyed much of the building in 55,56 March 1909⁵⁰), Parnell, 1909,⁵¹ and Ngaruawahia, 1909,⁵² as well as a large number of others. Clearly, then, such buildings represent the culmination of Campbell's search for a new post office style for the smaller buildings. Unlike the earlier Spit, Winton and Woodville buildings, however, they are not identical. Rather, Campbell and his staff combined architectural elements in different ways in deference to absolute standardisation. At Ngaruawahia, for example, striped concrete work, was incorporated into the design and at

Parnell the brick work typical of Campbell's earlier offices, was left unplastered.

Not until the following decade were significant changes made to the exterior decoration of such buildings. Around 1910 the triangular pediments and simple timber gables of earlier offices were sometimes replaced by segmental pediments. Their hipped ^frooves were also screened by parapets so that such post offices resembled the large flat-roofed government buildings under construction at the time, notably, the Chief Post Offices in Auckland and Wellington, 1908-12, and Parliament Buildings, 1911-22.

The greater restraint of such designs is consistent with that of Campbell's work of the second decade of the twentieth-century in general. Although tripartite compositions were still used for smaller buildings the three bays were given more equal treatment; entrances were now contained in the two end bays and paired windows were set in the intervening one. Whereas the various signs incorporated in designs for post office buildings (such as 'post office', 'telegraph office' etc.) were earlier rendered in restrained Roman characters in the later buildings they are sometimes designed in Art Nouveau script. The Phillipstown Post Office, 1910 -11,⁵³ is an example of this type of building (with very restrained lettering) and the Epsom Post Office, 1909,⁵⁴ with its 'new' side entrances and central gable of old, represents a transitional stage in its evolution.

2 Campbell's Larger Post Offices

Clayton's 'post office style' for large buildings was long-lived. The architect's death during the construction of the Christchurch Post Office, 1877-9, left Burrows in charge of its completion. While Burrows continued to erect similar buildings, Campbell himself did little to encourage their construction. However, he did not develop a new and distinctive form for the buildings until the late 1890s. Thus during the first decade of his tenure large post offices were constructed which are little different from those erected twenty years earlier.

Like Campbell's Napier and Hokitika Government Buildings they generally consist of a two storey block with short centre and end wings. They are usually constructed in brick with concrete or stone quoins and have corrugated iron roofs. Some of them have central towers of the type made fashionable by Osborne House, Isle of Wight (begun 1845), though their central placement has its ancestry in medieval cloth halls such as that at Ypres. The treatment of the windows differs widely but the more ornate examples have round headed openings on the ground floor and Venetian Gothic on the first. Buildings of this type were constructed at Blenheim, c.1876,⁵⁵ Lyttelton, opened in 1877, (to a much compressed plan) and Cathedral Square, Christchurch, 1877-79.

As late as February 1892 a very similar building was

59 under construction in Invercargill.⁵⁶ Completed on 6 April 1893,⁵⁷ it had its genesis in a two-storey post office block erected under Clayton's charge in 1875.⁵⁸ In 1892 substantial additions were made to that block consisting of a new wing linked to the original post office by a transverse wing. According to the Southland Times ⁵⁹ the additions were designed by the local District Engineer of the Public Works Department, William Sharp (1847-1936 ⁶⁰). The decision to entrust him with the work was therefore heralded as the welcome 'removal of the designing control from the centre of the Government ... to the spots where the buildings are being erected'.⁶¹ In reality, however, central government control over the design and construction of the building was pervasive.

The new 'H' plan of the post office echoes the 'centre and ends' compositions of Clayton's buildings and the detailing of the structure compares favourably with the less richly decorated post offices of the 1870s. The simple treatment of the square-headed, arched and Serlian windows, for example, invites comparison with the detailing of the window and door surrounds of the Government Buildings, Blenheim. However, despite the stylistic similarities between Clayton's work and the design of the Invercargill Post Office, the authorship of that building has long been in doubt: the design has been attributed to both Sharp ⁶² and Clayton.⁶³

If, in fact, the building was designed by the Colonial Architect plans must have been drawn before his

death in 1877. While none have been located, it is known that drawings were registered for additions to the building in Sharp's name in October 1891.⁶⁴ However, even the extent of Sharp's involvement in designing the building is unclear. On 23 July 1892 the Public Works Department registered drawings 'shewing [the] local architects design [for the tower] and [an] alternative design proposed by Mr Campbell'.⁶⁵ Although Sharp took full credit for all the additions at the formal opening of the building on 8 August 1893⁶⁶ it is unlikely that his design for the tower had in fact been constructed. The reticence of officials in acknowledging Campbell's involvement in designing that portion of the building is understandable. Only two months before its completion the government rejected an Invercargill jeweller's tender for the post office clock despite the fact that it was the lowest received.⁶⁷ Campbell's authorship of the tower, had it become public knowledge, might have fuelled the ensuing controversy over central government interference in local affairs.

However, there is some evidence that the design is Campbell's work. A separate contract was signed for its construction in April 1893 ⁶⁸ suggesting that some unexpected alteration was made to its design. Moreover, Sharp later forwarded drawings of the tower 'as built' ⁶⁹ further suggesting that the structure was not erected to his original design. And, after studying the final drawings for the tower, the local council stated that the tower would not be as high as they had expected and would

not, they feared, constitute the grand focal point in the townscape that they envisaged.⁷⁰

If the council found the height of the tower (90 feet, approximately 27.4 metres) disappointing its design must have come as a surprise. It was richer in architectural decoration than the rest of the building and sat uneasily above the office's simply articulated window and door openings. The tower had a pavilion roof, elaborate clock surrounds and a balustrade topped by decorative urns. The design was probably inspired by 'Second Empire' towers whose influence had permeated British architecture as early as the 1850s in works such as the Great Western Hotel, Paddington, London, 1851-3, by P. C. Hardwick.⁷¹ In its exuberance the design of the Invercargill Post Office tower foreshadows Campbell's Imperial Baroque post offices. It might, therefore, be read as his first attempt to establish a new post office style for larger buildings. However, by simply modifying the work of a local engineer, rather than creating an entirely new design for the building as a whole, Campbell fell short of designing a properly resolved alternative to Clayton's earlier work.

Thus when in 1896-7 the Public Works Department replaced an old timber post office by Turnbull and
60 Burrows in Hawera⁷² they used a form which recalls Clayton's post offices. There is, however, some hint of Campbell's influence in the design. The building is much more boldly modelled than either Burrows' or Clayton's

work. Similarly the use of a pavilion roof to cap the tower may have been inspired by Campbell's Invercargill Post Office tower. Nevertheless, by the late 1890s numerous post office buildings inspired by Clayton's work had been erected throughout New Zealand. Campbell's subsequent designs would therefore constitute a decisive break with a long architectural tradition.

Unlike the larger post offices of the 1870s Campbell's buildings generally consist of a two storey 'L' shaped block with one storey fitted into the angle of the 'L'. There were many advantages to this general plan. The construction of two facades along main and subsidiary roads created the impression of a more substantial block than was actually constructed; any subsequent additions to the offices could be accommodated behind the facades without altering the external appearance of the building and the post offices were as centrally located and accessible as possible.

The internal division of space in the large post offices is similar to that of the smaller ones. Public offices are entered through a lobby (located at the corner of the building) and the first floor offices communicate with each other. Although a private post-master's office is situated on the ground floor such offices are generally located upstairs. The larger post offices do not contain domestic quarters but rooms are nevertheless arranged on the first floor to one side of a corridor in much the same way as the living areas of the smaller offices. Again the division of rooms in such

markedly different ways within each storey has no discernible influence on the fenestration of the buildings; the arrangement of windows on the ground floor is much the same as that on the first. Thus Campbell treats the public elevations of the buildings as formal compositions despite the irregularities they mask.

There is, however, some deliberate play between symmetry and asymmetry typical of late Victorian and Edwardian buildings. Almost all Campbell's large post office buildings have corner towers flanked by gables. Thus, when viewed from either the main or subsidiary streets, the towers terminate one end of the building with no substantial vertical massing at the other. Such picturesque placement of towers was relatively common. Thomas Collcutt's Imperial Institute, South Kensington, London, 1887-93, Edward William Mountford's Sheffield Town Hall, 1890-7, and George Troup's Dunedin Railway Station in New Zealand, 1900-6, form compositions of this type on a larger scale. The purpose of Campbell's post office towers themselves was many. They sometimes housed bells which were rung to announce the arrival of overseas mail and their height and design often rivalled that of church towers, thus focussing attention on government and christian authority in the community. Although towers were not strictly necessary for the efficient operation of the offices they quickly became reference points and meeting places. Moreover, their clocks fostered a corporate image of time -serving efficiency, reliability, and dedication to duty.

The large post office buildings were, like Clayton's designs, often constructed in brick roofed with corrugated iron painted red. Campbell used iron because it was comparatively cheap but by painting it red he evoked the colour of more fashionable terracotta tiles. The restriction of the architectural decoration of the buildings to the towers and gables was likewise due to a lack of funds. Stripped of these features, the post offices which have survived down to the present are now a mere shadow of their former selves.⁷³

The first building Campbell constructed to this 61,62 'model' was the Masterton Post Office (now demolished).⁷⁴ Designs for the building were completed in May 1899,⁷⁵ a contract was signed for its erection in June⁷⁶ and construction was completed ten months later. The office was formally opened to the public on 9 May 1900⁷⁷ and immediately prompted comparisons with the chief post office, Wellington.⁷⁸ Although such comparisons do not warrant close attention, they reveal that the size and architectural ostentation of the building was thought to be comparable with that of post offices in the main centres. Situated on the corner of Queen and Hall Streets, the new building was the unrivalled focal point of the mercantile centre of Masterton.

When designing the post office Campbell incorporated the Flemish gables and pilaster strips and strings of his work of the 1890s. The tower was also a reworking of motifs which he had used before. Its heavily bracketed mansard roof and elaborate clock surrounds recalled the

'Second Empire' Invercargill Post Office tower. However, the tower of the Masterton Post Office building was better integrated with the rest of its post office block than that earlier design. The pediments above the first floor windows of the Masterton Post Office tower 'tied' it to the rest of the structure. They were placed high above the first floor windows and continued the line of the cornice. Campbell was able to create this more unified and coherent design at Masterton because he now had total responsibility for the design of the entire building.

Not long after the completion of the Masterton Post Office he erected an office of similar size, though very
63 different architectural design, in Ashburton. Designs for the building were completed in October 1900,⁷⁹ construction began on 21 January 1901⁸⁰ and building was completed by 18 November that year.⁸¹ Despite the similar size of the two buildings (approximately 17 by 27.5 metres) the Ashburton office was the more expensive to erect (approximately £5,300 ⁸² compared with Masterton's £3,480⁸³). Its greater expense was due in part to the use of Oamaru stone instead of concrete to relieve its brick walls. However, once again pilaster strips and strings divided the facade (especially the gables), enveloping the tourelles and 'binding' the window and door surrounds into a closely -knit composition. The tower had its ancestry in that of the Dunedin Law Courts, although ultimately it may also be descended from such British designs as John Wolfe Barry's and Horace

Jones's, Tower Bridge, London, 1886-94 and Peddie and Kinnear's Aberdeen Municipal Buildings, 1865-7.⁸⁴

A similar post office (without the Scottish Baronial inflection of the Ashburton building) was planned for
64 Feilding.⁸⁵ In the event, however, a larger building (opened on 27 February 1902⁸⁶) was constructed in the town. Designed by Joshua Charlesworth (1861-1925⁸⁷) it had the same form as Campbell's corner post offices but the tower had a cupola roof like many others Charlesworth erected, such as the Wellington Town Hall tower, designed
65 in 1901,⁸⁸ and Palmerston North Post Office tower, opened in 1905.⁸⁹ Charlesworth's design was indicative of the eventual development of Campbell's post office style.

Campbell's designs for the Invercargill, Masterton, Ashburton and Fielding Post Offices themselves seem to have been created during a period of architectural experimentation in the development of a new post office style. In the Ashburton Post Office Campbell's interest in Scottish architecture surfaces again (as it did in the design of the Dunedin Law Courts) and at Masterton and Invercargill he experimented with the 'Second Empire' style in the creation of a new government style. The exuberance of such architecture may well have attracted him in the same way that the vigour of Imperial Baroque provided him with the starting point for the development of an immediately recognisable government style for post office buildings.

Campbell himself first substituted a cupola for a pavilion roof in his design for the Gisborne Post Office,

thereby breaking the line of development which stretches from the Invercargill to Ashburton post office buildings.⁹⁰ In making this alteration Campbell was clearly moving towards the more overt Baroque style which he would eventually use in constructing post offices throughout New Zealand. In particular, his dome-capped towers are ultimately inspired by those by Wren at Greenwich, begun in 1704.

66 Designs for the Gisborne Post Office building itself were created in 1900⁹¹ (the same year as those for the Ashburton Post Office), a tender was accepted for its construction in January 1901⁹² and the office was completed in 1902⁹³ (after its Ashburton counterpart was finished). Unlike the Invercargill, Masterton and Ashburton post offices the tower has an octagonal stage above the first floor which breaks its vertical thrust. Within Campbell's oeuvre the ancestry of the tower, which has a ribbed cupola, stretches back to the Government Printing Office and Porirua Lunatic Asylum. The incised ornament of the window surrounds and the brackets supporting the pediments (brought forward from the walls to draw attention to the entrances) recall those smaller post offices designed at the turn of the century. However, with the erection of this building Campbell moved a step closer toward the more exuberant and overtly Imperial Baroque designs of the first and second decades of the twentieth-century.

A further step toward the construction of such designs was taken with the erection of the Wanganui Post

Office, completed by 18 January 1901.⁹⁴ Tenders were called for its erection that month⁹⁵ and a contract for its construction was signed on 27 February 1901.⁹⁶ By 1 July the following year building was virtually finished⁹⁷ and the contractors passed the post office over to the government on the afternoon of 4 August 1902.⁹⁸ Campbell was especially proud of the design and it was one of only three post offices he mentioned in his application for Fellowship of the Royal Institute of British Architects.⁹⁹ He did so secure in the knowledge that the Wanganui Post Office had received generous praise in New Zealand, being described as one of the 'handsomest public buildings in the colony'.¹⁰⁰

In the design of the tower of the building the kinship of Charlesworth's and Campbell's post offices is most clearly revealed. Both architect's towers belong to a large group modelled on those designed by William Hill for the Bolton (1866-73) and Portsmouth (1884) town halls. Described on completion as belonging 'to the style of the Renaissance, rendered famous by Bramante, San Gallo, and Michelangelo',¹⁰¹ the Portsmouth Town Hall tower was extremely influential. Campbell and his contemporaries were more likely to emphasise the specifically English sources for the design such as the elaborate telescoped towers designed by Hawksmoor but nevertheless Hill's design is recalled by the towers of

68 Philip Dudgeon's Durban Post Office, 1881-5,¹⁰² R. Walker's Ladysmith Town Hall, 1894, Natal,¹⁰³ and Reid and Green's City Hall, Cape Town, South Africa,

1905.¹⁰⁴ Each of those towers has a bell stage topped by an aedicule which frames clock faces. They are all capped by a ribbed 68,69 cupola. At Wanganui Campbell 'compresses' such designs, incorporating many of their features into the upper stage of his post office tower. The large arched openings of the bell stage of the Bolton Town Hall tower, for example, are incorporated below the clock faces of Campbell's design.

The increasing exuberance of Campbell's work is also evident at Wanganui in the facades of the post office itself. Relieving arches within the larger gables were tiled, introducing further 'permanent colour' on the exterior of the building as championed by Halsey Ricardo. 70 Campbell also planned an oriel window (which was not constructed) over the entrance to the private post office boxes on Victoria Avenue. Its design recalls that of Seager's oriel window on the Oxford Terrace side of the Municipal Council Chambers, Christchurch, and ultimately Shaw's New Zealand Chambers, 1885-7. However, elaborate as it is, the decoration of the Wanganui Post Office is nonetheless more classically correct than that of other post office buildings that Campbell designed. The pilasters, for example, have properly defined capitals and the cornice has dentils.

A week after the completion of the building a more overtly Baroque building was designed. Fittingly it was 70 built at Carterton, close to the first of Campbell's large 'L'-shape post offices, the Masterton Post Office. The Carterton Post Office itself was designed in August

1902,¹⁰⁵ a tender was accepted for its construction on 28 November that year¹⁰⁶ and the building was formally opened on 24 August 1903.¹⁰⁷ Like the small Levin Post Office, that at Carterton was rendered in coloured cement, the heavily striated ground floor, window surrounds and quoins being picked out in red against the yellow ochre first storey and tower walls. The tower had an octagonal stage, ribbed cupola and lantern, thereby recalling the Government Printing Office towers.

Moreover, the design was later translated into Campbell's
71 more familiar brick construction in the Nelson Post Office, designed in January 1905,¹⁰⁸ begun in May of that year¹⁰⁹ and opened on 3 December 1906.¹¹⁰ However, when designing both the Carterton and Nelson post offices Campbell omitted the pilaster strips of early post office designs thereby emphasising their smooth wall surfaces. The Flemish gables were also simpler.

Some of the inspiration for these buildings lies in Hawksmoor's oeuvre as interpreted, no doubt, by his followers such as Edward Mountford. However, whereas Hawksmoor telescoped the forms of many of his towers, so that one stage grew 'organically' out of the next, Campbell's became more compact. Thus the octagonal stage of the Carterton Post Office tower is shorter than that of the Wanganui Post Office and in 1910 Campbell
72 constructed a building in Hastings¹¹¹ which has a short 'drum' rather than a full octagonal stage. In many slightly smaller buildings Campbell constructed cupolas which emerge from directly behind the walls of the tower

with no visible means of support. Towers of this type were incorporated in the post offices constructed at
73 Lower Hutt, 1905-6,¹¹² Tauranga, 1906,¹¹³
74,75 Taihape, 75,76 1906-7,¹¹⁴ Cambridge, 1907-8,¹¹⁵ and
76 Te Awamutu, 1912-3.¹¹⁶ There were numerous British sources for them. Mountford's assistant (F. D. Clapham), for example, designed the Lancaster fire station, 1906-9, with a similar tower.¹¹⁷ In any case, the construction of so many of these buildings throughout New Zealand established such post offices as standard designs.

However, although many of these post offices were very similar none were identical. Campbell and his staff created many slightly different alternatives by combining standard architectural elements in different ways. Thus large segmental hood-moulds are incorporated in the Nelson, Hastings and Tauranga post offices; a delicate wrought iron balcony in the Nelson and Cambridge towers; and a large cornice below the clock faces in the Nelson and Taihape buildings. Almost without exception the rounded Baroque forms included in the designs were constructed in concrete, the plasticity of which enabled Campbell to construct cupolas and segmental pediments cheaply while nevertheless imitating the forms of stone construction.

Two of the most inventive of Campbell's post office towers exploited the plastic qualities of concrete (and the stonemason's skill) to a higher degree. Both were constructed on the West Coast, the first in Greymouth and

the second in Westport. While they conform to Campbell's post office style they were conceived as unique designs.

- 77 Designs for the Greymouth Post Office were created as early as June 1903¹¹⁸ and tenders called for its construction that year.¹¹⁹ However, no further action was taken on the erection of the building and the designs were amended in December 1904.¹²⁰ A contract for their erection was not signed until 16 May 1905¹²¹ and the building was not formally opened until 6 May 1908,¹²² almost two years after its expected completion date of 16
- 78 May 1906.¹²³ The delay in completing the building arose because the builders, Drake and Muir, defaulted on their contract, prompting the government to engage their own staff to finish the work.¹²⁴

With its alternating bands of brick and Oamaru stone, the Greymouth Post Office represents the full development of the striped brick work of Campbell's earliest designs. Its very large segmental pediments supported by paired rusticated columns recall the Public Trust Office, Wellington, and in turn John Belcher's Colchester Town Hall. There are, however, significant differences in the way in which Campbell interpreted this model in designing the two buildings. In earthquake-prone Wellington he substituted a circular drum for the tall tower of Belcher's design and tied it closely into the fabric of the steel frame building. However, in Greymouth where public consciousness of the threat of earthquakes was seemingly less acute than in Wellington he designed a load-bearing structure with a large, square tower, of

similar proportions to Belcher's.

However, the design of the Greymouth Post Office tower is very different from that English model. Whereas the Colchester Town Hall tower has a slender bell stage and crown, Campbell's is capped by a short circular drum with a cupola which emerges between its four corners. The composition has its ancestry in the Wanganui Post Office tower but was more elaborate than many other Baroque post offices Campbell designed. The tower also has a superficial similarity to those towers Charles Harrison Townsend designed in 1897 for his Whitechapel Art Gallery building. Townsend's towers are seemingly square at ground level but merge into four circular turrets with a larger one between them. By contrast, Campbell's tower is more rectilinear than Townsend's and neither he nor Greymouth residents were interested in the complex mystical symbolism of such work. Thus the Grey River Argus simply described the building as an example of 'English Renaissance' architecture.¹²⁵ In any event the building soon took on its own symbolic significance. With the death of Seddon in 1906 it was read as a memorial to his political achievements.

79 The connection between Seddon and the new West Coast buildings was reinforced by the erection of the tower of the Westport Post Office as a memorial to the former Premier.¹²⁶ The building was, however, erected almost six years after Seddon's death. A contract was signed for the construction of the Westport Post Office on 20 July 1910,¹²⁷ building began that month¹²⁸ and was completed

in 1912.¹²⁹

The design of the Westport Post Office is clearly very different from that of the Greymouth Post Office. Unlike the Greymouth building its brick walls are not relieved by courses of Oamaru stone to the same extent and the open-bed pediments, supported on pilasters, are less boldly modelled than those at Greymouth. The Westport Post Office tower (which collapsed in the Murchison earthquake of 1929) was a descendant of the Nelson and Hastings Post Office towers, though it was slightly more complex. Pilasters, resting on a cornice which was incorporated as the balcony rail, supported an entablature with a cornice around the circular clock faces. The tower was capped by an octagonal drum supporting a small cupola. By markedly reducing the size of the cupola in comparison with the base of the tower, Campbell created the impression of the large telescoped, organic towers popular in England in a comparatively simple structure. The greater restraint of the design is consistent with that of Campbell's other buildings erected at about the same time, clearly recalling the work of Wren.

3 The Chief Post Offices: Auckland and Wellington

Although drawings for both the Auckland and Wellington post offices were published in 1909 under Campbell's official seal,¹³⁰ the Auckland Post Office

building has more recently been attributed to Paton.¹³¹ In fact the contract drawings for both post offices bear the signatures of almost all employees of the architectural division of the Public Works Department,¹³² indicating that the designs were a collaborative effort. Thus it is reasonable to assume that Campbell, because of his position in charge of the architectural division of the Department, would have taken a more than passing interest in the design of the buildings. Indeed, there is some evidence that he was the driving force behind their creation. Newspapers in both cities attributed the buildings to him¹³³ and the Auckland Post Office is one of only a few works listed in his obituary notice published in that city.¹³⁴ The composition of both buildings also has its ancestry in his design for the Government Printing Office with its two dome-capped towers.

81 However, the ultimate model for the new chief or general post offices was Sir Henry Tanner's General Post Office, King Edward Street, London. Tanner's building was acclaimed as one of the first large structures in Britain to be constructed using the Hennebique system of reinforced concrete.¹³⁵ It was, therefore, both a well-known and obvious model for new post offices in New Zealand. By architectural reference to the building Campbell could symbolically link London, Auckland and Wellington and some New Zealanders, for example, Prime Minister Massey, made the connection. Aucklanders, Massey said, had reason 'to be proud of

their new Post Office, resembling as it did the new General Post Office in England'.¹³⁶

Both Tanner's and Campbell's designs have four storey blocks flanked by ornamental arches. The first and second stories of Tanner's building were articulated by giant pilasters while the Auckland Post Office has half-columns. Bays near the end of Tanner's post office design are capped by open-bed pediments whereas the pavilions at either end of Campbell's Auckland Post Office are topped by cupolas, thereby recalling Wren's twin dome-capped towers at Greenwich once again. Tanner's design was innovative in its use of a concrete frame whereas Campbell's building is a conventional load-bearing structure with an internal steel skeleton which, like that of the Public Trust Office, Wellington, takes none of the weight of the external walls. Nevertheless, there is a general similarity between the two designs.

In some ways Tanner's building was an impractical model for a post office building on the proposed Queen Street site. The strength of Campbell's resolve to realise this vision is revealed by his persistence with its construction despite the obstacles in its path. One of those obstacles presented itself in 1911 when the Railways Department petitioned the government to omit the arches on either side of the building. The arches would, the Department submitted, restrict the flow of traffic to and from the extant railway buildings behind the post office site. The Public Works Department (though presumably not its architectural division) also opposed

the construction of the arches. However, Campbell was unmoved and the departments eventually withdrew their complaints. Although they were convinced that 'the arches would enormously hamper the traffic between the station and Queen Street',¹³⁷ they conceded that they would add 'to the beauty of the building',¹³⁸ and conceal 'the severely practical buildings beyond the post office'.¹³⁹

Despite having a specific model in mind for the design of the building, Campbell employs many of the architectural elements that he had used before. While the Auckland (and Wellington Post Offices) represent the culmination of his achievement in designing post office buildings, the high point of his more vigorous Imperial Baroque work had been reached some years before they were erected. Thus the Auckland Post Office is more restrained than some of the smaller post office buildings with which Campbell established a new government style for the erection of post office buildings in New Zealand. Its closest counterpart is perhaps the Wrenaissance Hokitika Post Office.

The standard elements of Campbell's government buildings are nevertheless evident. The parapet at the centre of the Auckland Post Office incorporates an open-bed pediment and other Baroque detailing, such as cartouches and scroll-shaped keystones, are included in the design of the building. However, its granite and Oamaru stone cladding is more subdued than the red brick and Oamaru stone banding of Campbell's smaller offices.

Within Campbell's oeuvre the design is most closely related to the classical project for the Dunedin Railway Station. The building is also the culmination of his Shaw-inspired designs of the 1890s, revealing that Campbell was still much influenced by that architect, especially his Baroque designs such as the Piccadilly Hotel. Moreover, by setting arches adjacent to the post office Campbell not only evokes Tanner's design, but also reveals a wider interest in the setting in which the building is itself constructed, a concern which taken to its logical conclusion in Britain, resulted in the design of whole streets as unified blocks of Edwardian buildings. In so far as the flat roof of the Auckland post office foreshadows Campbell's other palazzo-inspired buildings such as the Wellington Chief Police Station, it marks a turning point in his career, pointing to the growing restraint of his work.

In fact construction began as early as June 1908¹⁴⁰ and the building was opened on 20 November 1912.¹⁴¹ Progress on its Wellington counterpart (demolished in 1974¹⁴²) was slower. The construction of a new post office in the city had been mooted as early as 1901¹⁴³ but designs were not prepared for a new building until
82 1908. The construction of the building was further delayed when tenders, called in 1908, proved higher than expected. As a result Campbell amended his designs,¹⁴⁴ reducing the height of the building by one floor. Stripped of its pitched attic storey¹⁴⁵ and the side arches of its Auckland counterpart, the Wellington

83 Post Office more clearly resembled a palazzo than the Auckland Post Office building. The palazzo was a traditional form for bank buildings and although the New Zealand Post Office had been operating a banking service since 1876, Campbell had not tapped this architectural association before. Again, however, precedent could be found in Tanner's post office buildings. His Post Office Parcels Office in Campbell's birth place, Glasgow has a similar form.¹⁴⁶

However, there were other problems in designing the building. Situated on a block of land defined by Featherston, Grey and Panama Streets, the new building backed on to Thomas Turnbull's old General Post Office completed in 1884. Thus it was no more than a very substantial addition to an existing building. Nevertheless, Campbell chose to treat it as an entirely separate structure and the junction between the two as the natural juxtaposition of buildings of different size and architectural style which occurs in most central city streets.

Despite such difficulties the Wellington Post Office was conceived as a more ostentatious building than its Auckland counterpart. It was constructed in more expensive materials and its brick walls were faced with Tonga Bay granite with alternating courses of Dobson blue stone on the ground floor. By contrast the Auckland Post Office has granite only on the lower floors and cheaper Oamaru stone on the upper stories. Although the post offices were erected for about the same price (£95,551

for the Auckland Post Office¹⁴⁷ compared with £96, 923 for its Wellington counterpart¹⁴⁸) the government paid an additional £1200 for statuary to adorn the building in Wellington.

Campbell's first design for the Wellington Post Office shows four separate figures above the entrance. However, in the finished building two standing figures 'symbolic of telegraphy and postal delivery'¹⁴⁹ supplied by 'Messrs. W. Parkinson and Co. of Auckland'¹⁵⁰ flanked an allegorical group by noted English sculptor, Alfred Drury (1856-1944).

Drury's Michelangelesque centre-piece carved in Portland stone was entitled 'The Girdled Earth'. It was symbolic of postal delivery by land and sea around the world and consisted of two seated female figures. One held a galleon and the other a locomotive. Both sat with their backs to a pillar which supported a globe wrapped with a ribbon decorated with the signs of the zodiac. Previously Drury had supplied Wellington with a statue of Queen Victoria which was erected in Kent Terrace in 1905 and it may well have been this work which prompted the government to commission statuary for the post office from him.¹⁵¹

But whatever the reasons for Drury's commission, his sculpture was the focal point of a building which Campbell's contemporaries found 'plain and massive in appearance'.¹⁵² Only once before had Campbell included statuary in his designs, namely the figure of Justice in the niche of the Stuart Street tower of the Dunedin Law

Courts. Never before had he indicated that sculpture would be included in his preliminary drawings for a building.

Nevertheless the design of the building as a whole again conforms to Campbell's post office style established for smaller buildings, the dome-capped pavilions at the end of the building recalling the towers of his 'L'-shape post offices. The Wellington Post Office was also very clearly related to the Auckland building. Its palazzo form is consistent with that of its northern counterpart. To the extent that the post offices employed the same architectural elements of Campbell's smaller offices (though to different effect) they were the climax of the post office building boom. However, the money for their decoration in the manner that Campbell envisaged was not made available and generally the interiors were simply plastered and painted.

Ironically, the Auckland and Wellington post offices also sounded the death knell of the corner post office style that Campbell established. The design of the buildings, with their central blocks flanked by towers, looks back to the 'centre and ends' compositions of Claytons' buildings. A hint of the reversion to such designs is first evident in Campbell's New Plymouth Post Office built in 1907.¹⁵³ With its central tower and end gables its ancestry stretches back to the post offices of the 1870s. In fact it was erected as an addition to the New Plymouth Government Buildings and thus represents an amalgam of such designs with Campbell's post office

style. Its open-bed segmental pediments supported by paired rusticated columns invite comparison with those at Greymouth. Similarly, the porte-cochère, (possibly inspired by Troup's Dunedin Railway Station completed a year before the New Plymouth Post Office), rises into a tower with a cupola like those erected over many of Campbell's post office towers.

Thus the New Plymouth Post Office was an unlikely end to Campbell's corner post office style, heralding a return to the same composition that Clayton employed. However, as the post office building boom petered out so too did Campbell's interest in the building type. Paton designed some 'corner post offices' such as that erected in Dargaville in 1914, but Campbell's post office style was brought to an abrupt end with the outbreak of the First World War.

Nevertheless, in the design of post office buildings, more than any other building type, Campbell clearly established a recognisable government style. The construction of so many Imperial Baroque post office buildings throughout the colony testifies to the extent to which that style did become the architectural expression of officialdom in New Zealand. Campbell's Auckland and Wellington post offices, while heralding a new era in the design of government buildings, transplanted that style from the smaller towns and suburbs in which it developed into two of the larger cities.

Footnotes

1 Sir Joseph Ward commenting on the introduction of universal penny postage, cited in Howard Robinson, A History of the Post Office in New Zealand, Wellington, 1964, p. 168.

2 David Mitchell (David Mitchell and Gillian Chaplin, The Elegant Shed; New Zealand Architecture since 1945,

Auckland, 1984, p.78) commenting on McCoy and Wixon's Alexandra Post Office building.

3 See Jan Morris, The Spectacle of Empire; Style, Effect and the Pax Britannica, New York, 1982, p.116.

4 N.Z.P.D., vol.152, 1910, p.297.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid, vol. 145, 1908, p.894.

7 Ibid.

8 Alastair Service, Edwardian Architecture; A Handbook to Building Design in Britain 1890-1914, London, 1977, p.12.

9 See John Cattell (compiler), Historic Buildings of Canterbury and South Canterbury; A Register of Classified Buildings, Wellington, 1985, p.41.

10 A.J.H.R., 1895, D.-1, Appendix E, p.46 and Ibid, 1896, D.-1, Appendix F, p.58.

11 Ibid, D.-1, Appendix F, 1896, p.55 notes that extensive additions were being made while Ibid, D. -1, Appendix F, 1909, p.78 notes that two rooms were added to the residence portion of the office.

12 W 35/2, folio 332.

13 P.W.D. 19658.

14 See 'Opening of the New Apiti Post Office: The Town en Fete', Feilding Star, 20 October 1908, reprinted in Ivan George, Apiti Where's That? Centennial Edition 1886-1986, Apiti, 1977, pp.115-6. See also P.W.D. 22635 and W 16/7, folio 347.

15 Grey River Argus and Blackball News, 29 May 1908, p.3.

16 A.J.H.R., 1902, D.-1, Appendix E, p.59.

- 17 P.W.D. 18864, noted in W16/6 on 6.12.99.
- 18 See W35/2, folio 264, entry no. 435.
- 19 Ibid. The contractors agreed to complete the building by 27 February 1901.
- 20 See P.W.D. 18530
- 21 A.J.H.R., 1900, D.-1, Appendix E, p.108.
- 22 Ibid., 1914, D. -1, Appendix F, p.90.
- 23 See P.W.D. 18863
- 24 Tender accepted 5 June 1900, building to be completed 5 December 1900. See W32, no.401.
- 25 Evening Post, 16 March 1901, p.2.
- 26 'A tender was accepted for the building on 27 2. 01. The contractors agreed complete the building by 27. 8. 01. See W35/2, folio 264, no. 497.
- 27 A.J.H.R., D.-1, Appendix E, 1901, p.127. See also P.W.D. 18930
- 28 Ibid., 1915, D.-1, Appendix C, p.32.
- 29 See P.W.D. 19206
- 30 Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol.3, (Canterbury Provincial District), Christchurch, 1903, p.901.
- 31 See P.W.D. 19358.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 A contract was signed for its construction on 2 October 1902, unnumbered contract documents.
- 34 Weekly Press, 24 June 1903, pp.27-8.
- 35 Tender accepted 19.10.03. See W35/2, 723, folio 121.
- 36 Woodville Centennial Committee, Woodville 1875-1975, Palmerston North, 1982, p.56.
- 37 See P.W.D. 20406 'For record Jno Campbell 4 August 1903'.
- 38 Tender accepted 31.1.05, building to be completed 30. 9 .05. See W35/2, no.925, folio 57.
- 39 A.J.H.R., D.-1, Appendix E, 1906, p.65.

- 40 See P.W.D. 19919, signed 'Jno Campbell 23 June 1902' and 'Jas Baird'.
- 41 See Evening Post, 18 August 1903, p.5.
- 42 Tenders were called for additions in 1910 (see A.J.H.R., D.-1, Appendix F, p.72) which altered the form of the building but in its original state it had the same tripartite composition as other small post offices.
- 43 W32, Unnumbered contract documents, John Campbell's papers, Levin Post Office Contract, p.11.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 On Robson's attitude towards the use of yellow rather than red brick see Alastair Service (ed.), Edwardian Architecture and its Origins, n.p., 1975, p.98.
- 46 Opened on 12 September 1904. See Russell Standish, Eltham One Hundred Years, n.p., 1984, p.43. Extensive additions were completed in 1912, see Ibid and A.J.H.R., 1912, D.-1, Appendix F, p.85.
- 47 A.J.H.R., 1912, D.-1, Appendix F, p.85.
- 48 See P.W.D. 19726. Tenders were called in June 1905 (see Evening Post, 22 June 1905, p.7) and one was accepted on 1.8.05 (See W35/2, folio 335). The contractors agreed to complete the building by 1.4.06. (Ibid)
- 49 A tender was accepted for its construction on 14.10.10. The contractors agreed to complete the building by 14.5.10. See W35/2, folio 326.
- 50 A.J.H.R., 1910, D.-1, Appendix F, p.72.
- 51 A tender was accepted for its construction on 22.4.09. See W35/2, folio 98.
- 52 Completed in November 1909. See A.J.H.R., 1910, D.-1, Appendix F, p.71.
- 53 A.J.H.R., 1911, D.-1, Appendix F, p.69 and Lyttelton Times, 24 April 1911, pp.7 and 9.
- 54 A tender was accepted for its construction on 18.3.09. The contractors agreed to complete the building by 18.10.09. See W35/2, folio 98.
- 55 According to Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol.5, (Nelson, Marlborough and Westland Provincial Districts), Christchurch, 1906, p. 324, the Government Buildings, Blenheim, were destroyed in 1876 but 'they were soon replaced by the present building'.

- 56 A.J.H.R., 1893, D.-1, Appendix E, 1893, p.36.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 See Anne Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton; Colonial Architect', M.A. thesis, University of Canterbury, 1985, p. 121.
- 59 Southland Times, 8 August 1893, p.3.
- 60 According to F.W. Furkert, Early New Zealand Engineers, (W. L. Newnham, revised and edited), Wellington, 1953. p.264.
- 61 Southland Times, 8 August 1893, p.3.
- 62 See Furkert, p. 265.
- 63 Crighton implies that all the building is by Clayton except the tower (Crighton, pp.121-3). Stacpoole (John Stacpoole, Colonial Architecture in New Zealand, Wellington, 1976, p.154) states that 'He [William Sharp] has been credited with the design of the fine old Government buildings which disappeared in 1938, but their construction was begun in Clayton's time, before Sharp arrived in the country.' Presumably Stacpoole refers to the Government Buildings behind the post office which formed part of the government buildings precinct, only the post office portion of which was designed by Clayton.
- 64 P.W.D. 16875. It has not been located but was noted in W16/5, folio 257.
- 65 Note accompanying the entry on P.W.D. 16971, W16/5, folio 257. Again these drawings have not been located.
- 66 Southland Times, 8 August 1893, p.3.
- 67 See Ibid, 21 July 1893, p.2.
- 68 W32, Box 19, 93/7, pt.2.
- 69 See W16/5, folio 257, note accompanying entry on P.W.D. 17082.
- 70 See Southland Times, 29 June 1893, p.2.
- 71 See Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, Victorian Architecture, London, 1978, plate 68, p.78.
- 72 See A.J.H.R., 1896, D.-1, Appendix F, p.56. Drawings for the Hawera Post Office, P.W.D. 17142 and P. W. D. 17268, were registered by the Public Works Department on 14. 11. 93 and 23. 6. 94 respectively. They have not been located but both of them are noted in W 16/5, folio 293. One of them (P.W.D. 17142) is accompanied by the note 'Messrs Burrows and Turnbull Architects'. Presumably

both drawings were for the timber building erected in 1894 and destroyed by fire on 30 August 1895, shortly after its completion. It is unclear whether or not Burrows and Turnbull designed the brick post office which replaced it. Burrows was, however, stationed in Hunterville (closer to Hawera than Campbell and his architects in Wellington) and thus might well have taken a special interest in its design.

73 Admittedly, however, a few buildings such as the Tauranga Post Office, remain in tact at present.

74 See 'Masterton Borough; 100 Years of Local Government 1877-1977', Wairarapa Times-Age Supplement, 17 February 1977, p.29.

75 P.W.D. 22741

76 See W32 18518

77 Evening Post, 9 May 1900, p.6.

78 Ibid, 10 May 1900, p.5.

79 P.W.D. 19021 is dated 2.10.1900.

80 See Press, 21 January 1901, p.4, Ibid, 22 January 1901, p.5 and Ibid, 23 January 1901, p.4.

81 Ibid, 19 November 1901, p.4.

82 Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 3, (Canterbury Provincial District), Christchurch, 1903, p.816. This was in excess of the original tender of £4,300 reported in Press, 21 January 1901, p.4.

83 Evening Post, 10 May 1900, p.5.

84 Illustrated in Colin Cunningham, Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls, London, 1981, p.113.

85 See P.W.D. 18831

86 See Weekly Press, 12 March 1902, p. 7.

87 According to Charles Fearnley, Early Wellington Churches (Julie Bremner ed.), Wellington, 1977, p.218.

88 Designs published in Weekly Press, 3 April 1901, p.65.

89 See P.W.D. 20295, A.J.H.R., 1906, Appendix E, D.-1, p.62.

90 The list of post offices constructed between 1900 and 1914 with pavilion or mansard roofs also includes the Kaiapoi Post Office, opened on 19 December 1904 (See

P.W.D. 20502, R. G. Buchanan, Post and Telephone Offices in Canterbury; Historical Notes', unpublished manuscript, vol.1, n.p, n.d, unpaginated, Canterbury Public Library and John R. Slattery, The Mails of North Canterbury; The Postal History between the Waimakariri and Waipara Rivers 1855-1979, Christchurch, 1980, p.13) ; Sydenham Post Office, 1911-12 (See John Wilson, Lost Christchurch, Springston, 1984, p.91 and Lyttelton Times, 21 November 1911, p.3.), Rotorua Post Office, 1913-14 (see A.J.H.R., 1914, D.-1, p. 60) and Waiau Post Office, 1912, (see Bruce Marshall and Robin Startup, From the Bay to the Bush; The People, Post Offices and Post marks of Hawkes Bay, Hawkes Bay, 1984, pp.245-9).

91 P.W.D. 19057 is dated 2/10/00.

92 See A.J.H.R., 1902, D.-1, Appendix E, p.58.

93 A tender was accepted for its construction by January 1901 (see Evening Post, 4 January 1901, p. 4) and the foundation stone was laid shortly afterwards (see ibid, 19 January 1901, p.7).

94 P.W.D. 19142 (4) is dated 18. 1. 01.

95 See for example, Evening Post, 26 January 1901, p.3.

96 See W35/2, folio 331, entry no. 498.

97 A.J.H.R., 1902, D.-1, Appendix E, p.60.

98 New Zealand Times, 5 August 1902, p.7.

99 R.I.B.A. Application papers. Candidate's Separate Statement. The other two post offices mentioned are the Masterton and Carterton buildings.

100 New Zealand Times, 5 August 1902, p.7.

101 Portsmouth Times, 12 August 1890, cited in Brian Kearney, Architecture in Natal from 1824 to 1893, Cape Town, 1973, p.48.

102 Originally constructed as a town hall incorporating a post office and museum. See D. Picton-Seymour, Victorian Buildings in South Africa ..., Cape Town, 1977, p.237 and Kearney, pp. 46-9, 191-4.

103 See Kearney, pp. 54, 212.

104 Illustrated in Charles Allen, 'Public Buildings', Architecture of the British Empire, (Robert Fernor -Hesketh, General ed.) New York, 1986, p. 140.

105 See P.W.D. 19555

106 W32, Unnumbered contract documents, 'John Campbell's

papers' and W35/2, folio 332, entry no.684.

107 Weekly Press, 14 October 1903, p.5 and Evening Post, 25 August 1903, p.7.

108 See P.W.D. 21221. One of these drawings (no.3) is, however, signed 'Jno Campbell 18 July 1905'.

109 See Colonist, 17 December 1906, p.4 and Millar Halket, Our Daily Mail, Masterton, n.d., p.22.

110 Ibid.

111 A contract was drawn up for the erection of the post office by 5 August 1908 (see W32 23754), construction continued throughout 1909 (see Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail, 14 April 1909, p.42) and the post office was opened on 24 January 1910 (see Marshall and Startup, p.132 and Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail, 2 February 1910, p.30).

112 Tenders were called for the construction of the office in late 1905 (see, for example, Evening Post, 13 November 1905, p.7), a tender was accepted on 18. 12. 1905, (see W35/2, folio 336) and the building completed in 1906, see A.J.H.R., 1907, D.-1, Appendix E, p.67.

113 See A. C. Bellamy (ed.), Tauranga 1882-1982; The Centennial of Gazetting Tauranga as a Borough, Tauranga, 1982, p.70 and Weekly Press, 4 September 1907, p.50.

114 See A.J.H.R., 1906, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 62 and Ibid, 1907, D.-1, Appendix E, p.67.

115 See P.W.D. 22162 and A.J.H.R., 1907, D.-1, Appendix E, p.65.

116 See Laurie Barber, Frontier Town; A History of Te Awamutu, 1884-1984, Te Awamutu and Auckland, 1984, p.94 and A.J.H.R., 1913, D.-1, Appendix F, p.80.

117 Colin Cunningham, Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls, London, 1981, illustration 39, p.79.

118 See P.W.D. 20361, no. 3, dated 29 June 1903.

119 Press, 5 September 1903, p.

120 See P.W.D. 20939 which is filed with P.W.D. 20361.

121 See W35/2, folio 344, entry 952.

122 Grey River Argus and Blackball News, 7 May 1908, p.3.

123 Building to be completed 16. 5 .06, see W35/2, folio 344, entry 952.

124 See W33 1866 and Greymouth, The First Hundred Years, Greymouth, 1968, p.31.

125 Grey River Argus and Blackball News, 7 May 1908, p.3.

126 See Bruce Macdonald, Westport-Struggle for Survival; An Illustrated History, Westport, 1973, p.45.

127 See W33 1634.

128 W35/2

129 See MacDonald, p.45 and Weekly Press, 22 May 1912, p.39.

130 On the Auckland Post Office see Weekly Graphic, 9 June 1909, p.30 [a similar drawing is reproduced in 'History of the Auckland Post Office', The Mail Coach, (R. M. Startup ed.) vol. 4, no. 4, 1977, pp. 78-81] On the Wellington Post Office see Ibid, 7 July 1909, p.26.

131 This building was first attributed to Claude Paton in John Stacpoole and Peter Beaven, New Zealand Art; Architecture 1820-1970, Wellington, 1972, p.68. The attribution was based on information passed on to Mr Stacpoole by architects who had known Paton. Correspondence with Mr Stacpoole, 12 November 1986.

132 On the Auckland Post Office see P.W.D. 23281 and the Wellington Post Office, P.W.D. 23636.

133 Auckland Star, 21 November 1912, p. 9 and Evening Post, 25 November, 1912, p.8.

134 New Zealand Herald, 7 August 1942,

135 Experimentation with concrete frames in England dates from about 1901 . The first building to be constructed in this manner was probably A. C. Bloomfield's Friars House on Broadway Street, London, 1906-8. See Alastair Service, London 1900, London, 1979, p.25. The contractors, the Holloway Brothers, widely advertised their achievement in constructing the post office with a concrete frame (see, for example, Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, vol. XVIII, no. 16, 1910-11, p.vii) and Tanner regarded the building 'as his chief work' (See Sir Henry Tanner, C.B., I.S.O., F.S.I. [F]' [Obituary Notice], Ibid, 12 October, 1935, p.1160.)

136 Auckland Star, 21 November 1912, p.9.

137 Dominion, 1 August 1911, p.4.

138 Ibid.

- 139 Ibid.
- 140 See A.J.H.R., D.-1, Appendix F, p.84.
- 141 See Auckland Star, 20 November, 1912, p. 7.
- 142 See Brian Mountjoy, 'The Wellington Post Office', The Onslow Historian, vol. 4, no.2, 1974, pp.14-5.
- 143 Evening Post, 12 January 1901, p. 4.
- 144 Dominion, 8 October 1908, p.6.
- 145 Another storey was, however, planned in 1935. See 'Some Old Buildings of Wellington', The Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects, vol. XIV, no.4, October 1935, p.54.
- 146 Illustrated in A. Stuart Gray, Edwardian Architecture; A Biographical Dictionary, London, 1985, p.344.
- 147 A.J.H.R., 1912, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 84.
- 148 Ibid, p. 85
- 149 Dominion, 8 January 1912, p.4.
- 150 Ibid.
- 151 Certainly the Dominion, 20 January 1912, p.6 made a point of mentioning Drury's statue of Queen Victoria in Kent Terrace when reporting on the new post office statuary. Clearly, arrangements for its creation were made through New Zealand's High Commissioner in London (See Public Works Department Correspondence register, 1911) though none of the correspondence which would cast more light on those arrangements has survived in New Zealand. All the sculpture was removed from the building in 1945. See Evening Post, 20 March 1945, p.4. Its present whereabouts is unknown.
- 152 History of the Wellington Post - Office and its Buildings, Wellington, 1913, p.30.
- 153 See A.J.H.R., 1906, Appendix E, D.-1, p.62 and A.J.H.R., 1907, Appendix E, D.-1, p.66.





Post Office Dargiville N.Z. 1882

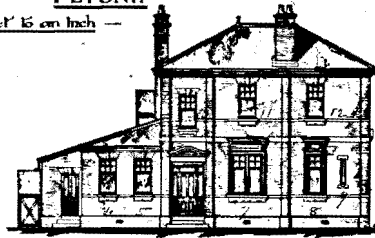


— POST OFFICE —
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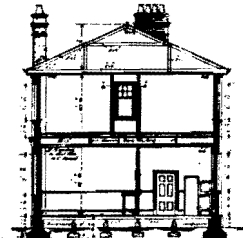
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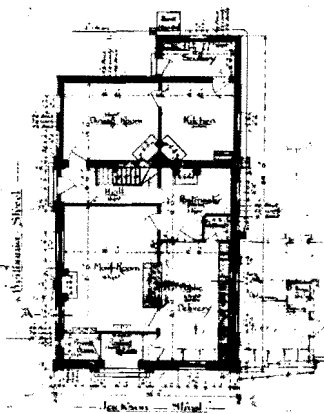
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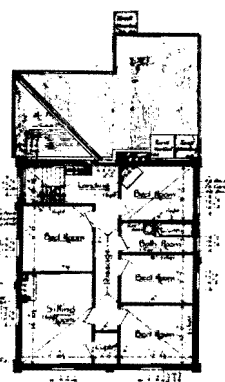
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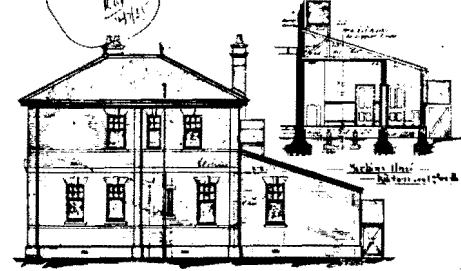
— Section AA —



— Ground — Plan —



— First — Floor — Plan —



— Side — Elevation —



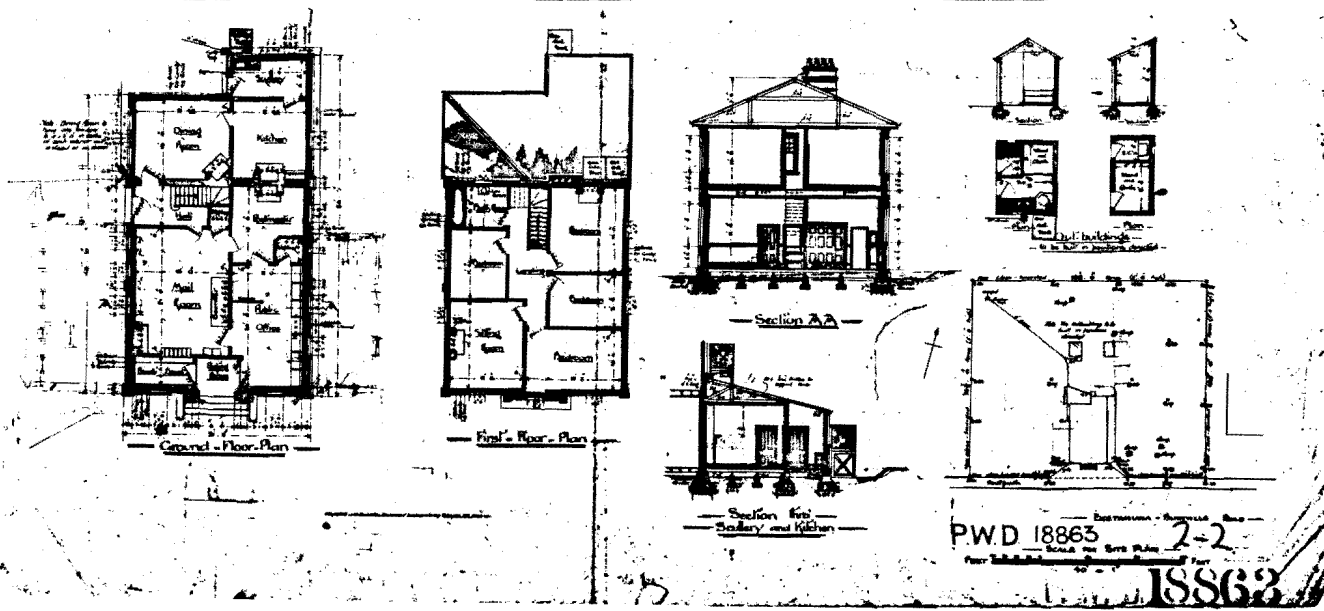
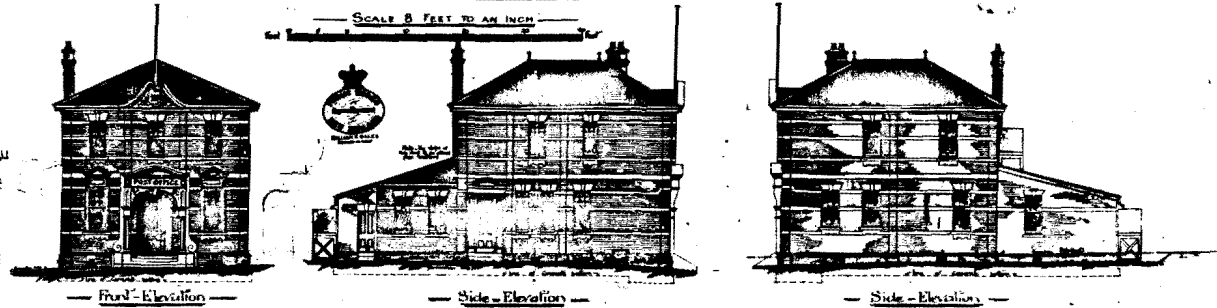
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— EKETAHUNA POST OFFICE —

SCALE 8 FEET TO AN INCH





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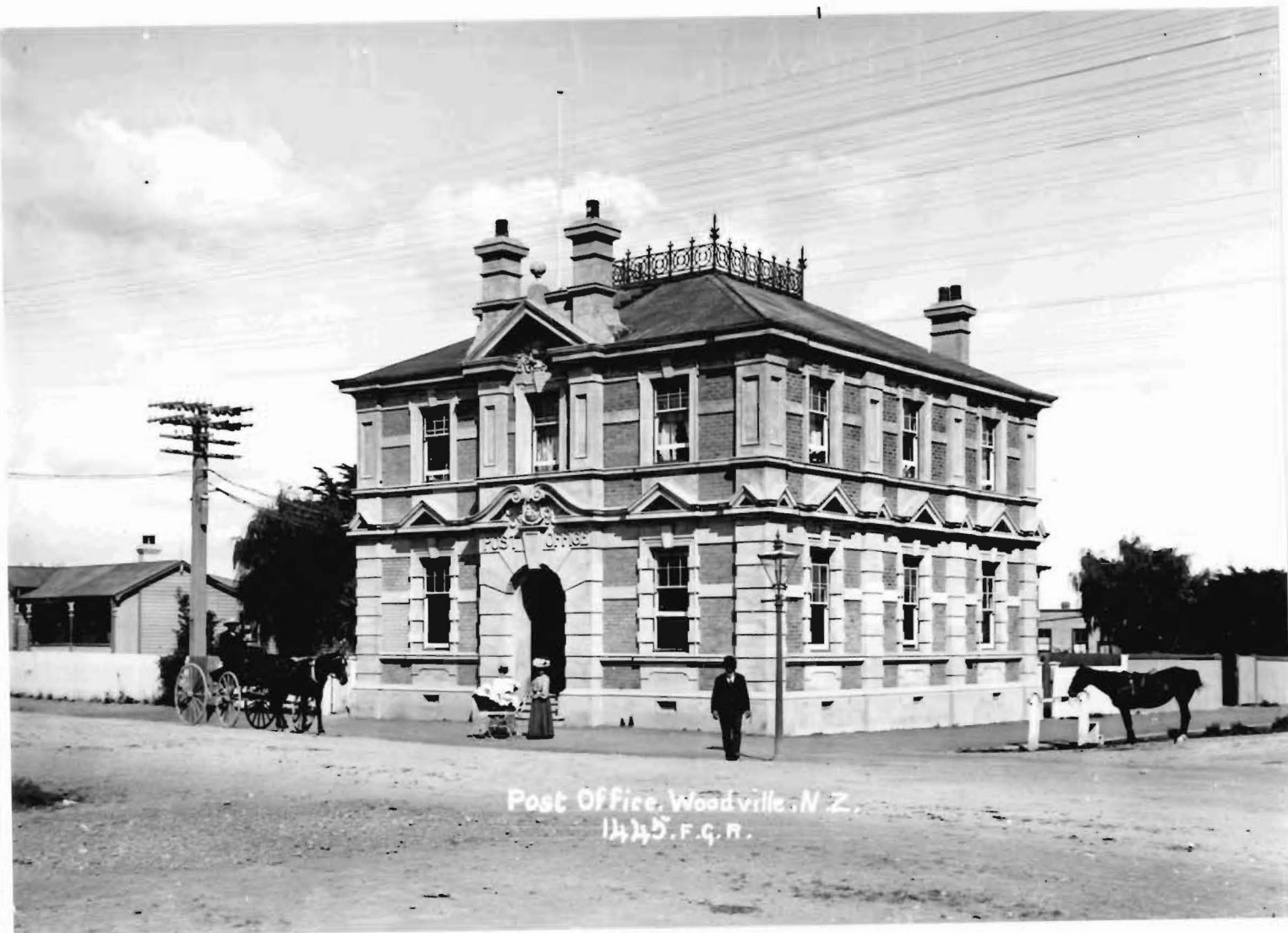


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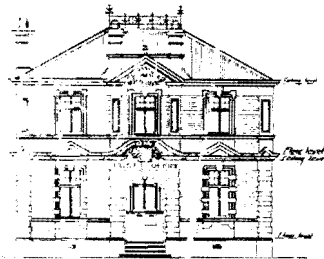




Post Office, Woodville, N.Z.
1445 F.C.R.

WINTON POST OFFICE.

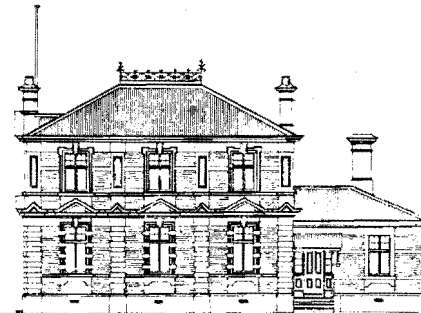
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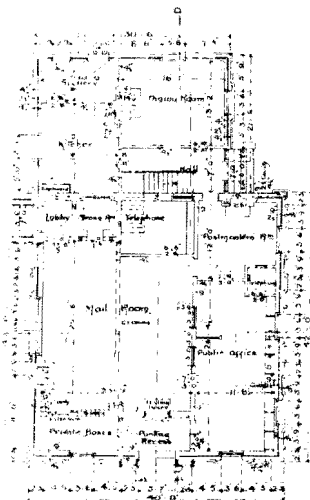
Front Elevation



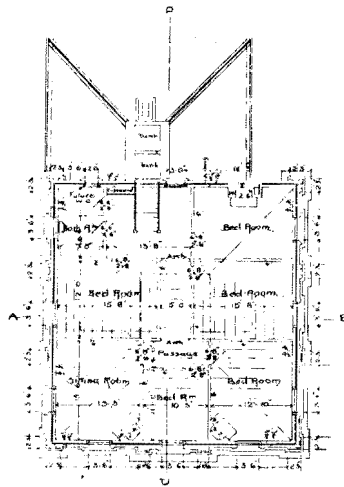
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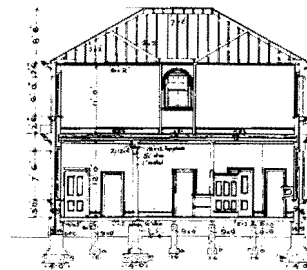
Side Elevation



Ground Floor Plan



Upper Floor Plan



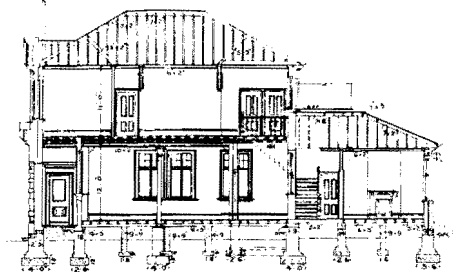
Section A.B.



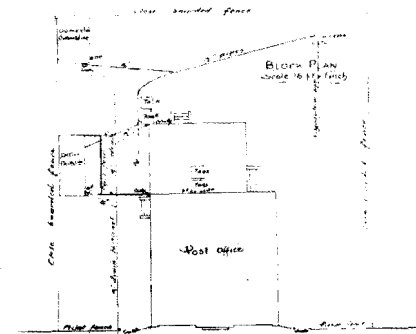
Discharge Outbuilding



Office Outbuilding



Section C.D.



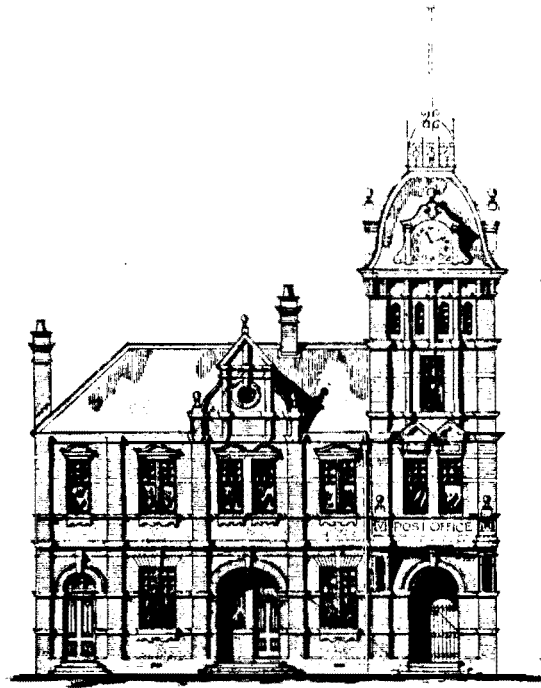




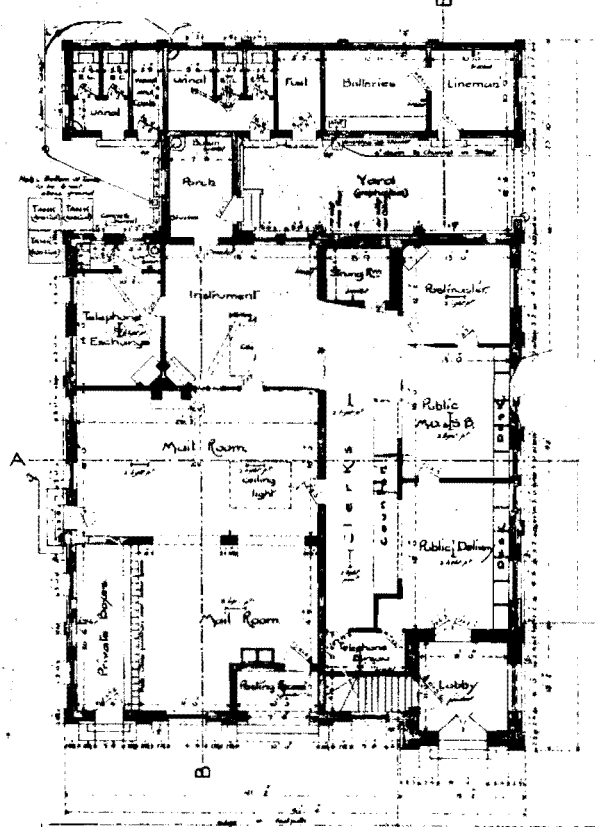








Queen Street Elevation

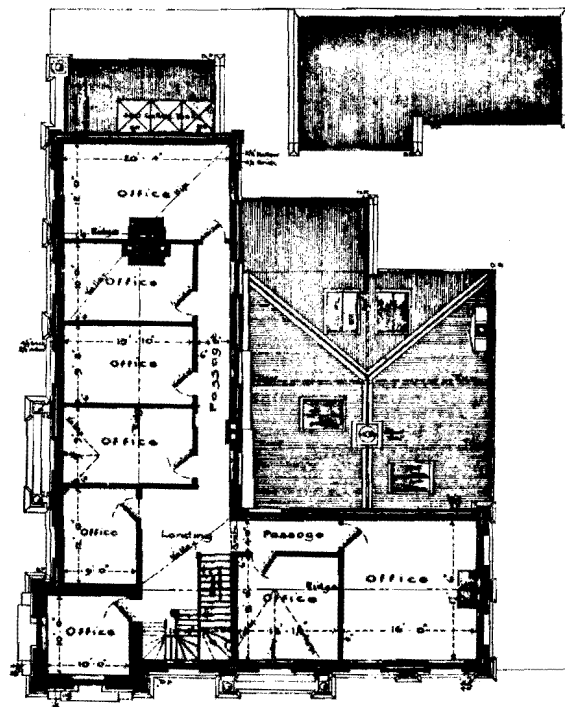
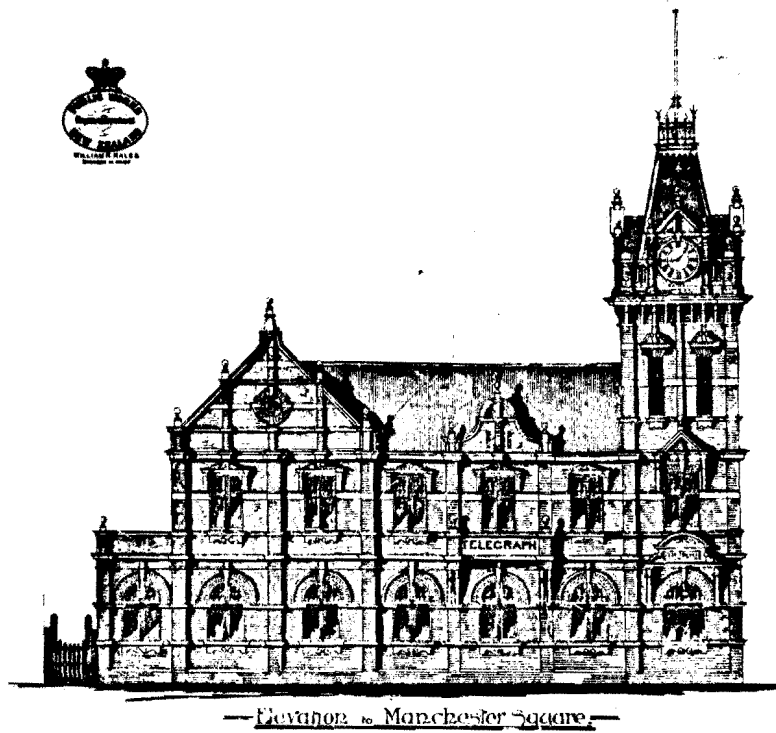


Ground Plan



J. T. SUTTON. No. 782. POST OFFICE, ASHBURTON, N. Z.





—First Floor Plan—

P.W.D. 18831









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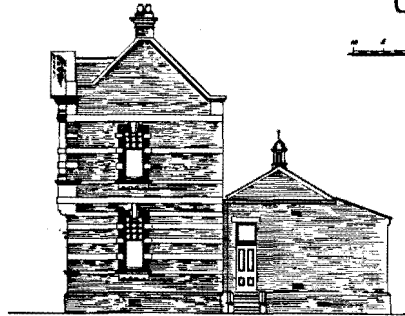




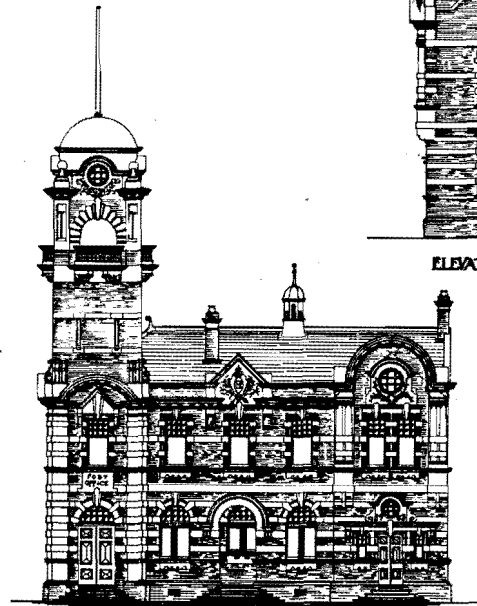
PROPOSED POST OFFICE.
GREYMOUTH.

3.

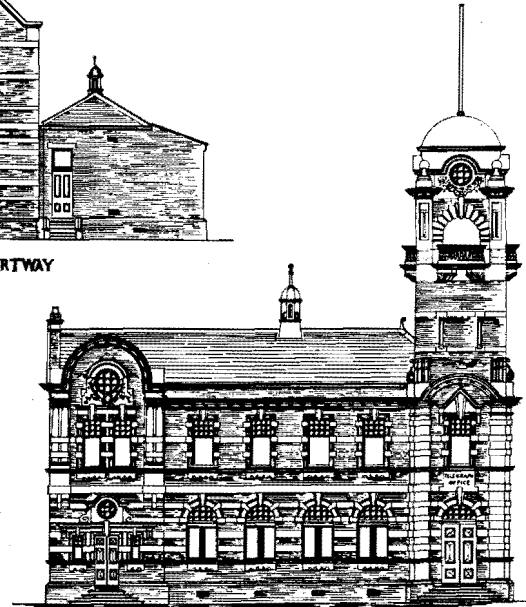
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ELEVATION TO CARTWAY



ELEVATION TO MAIN ST



ELEVATION TO HOSPITAL ST

P.W.D. 20939

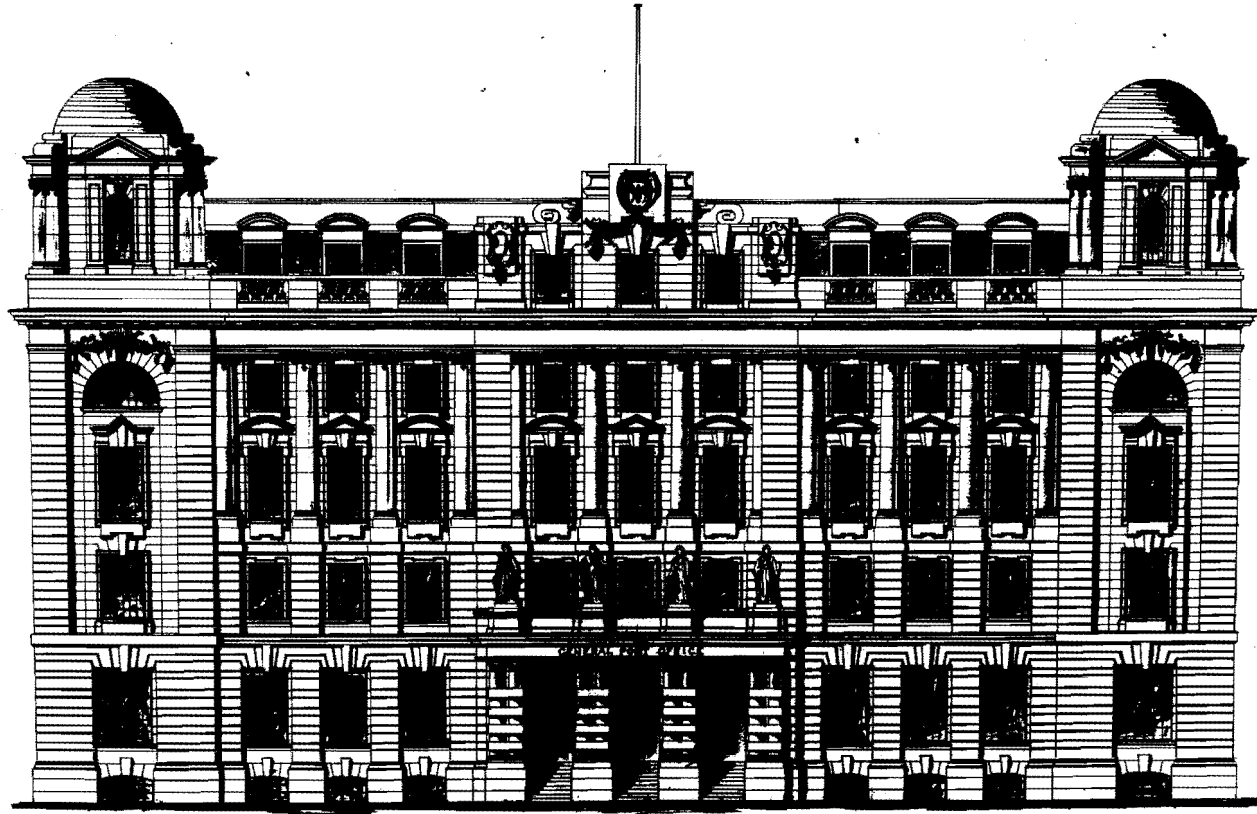




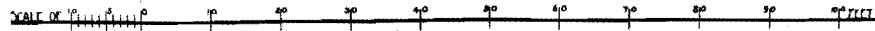




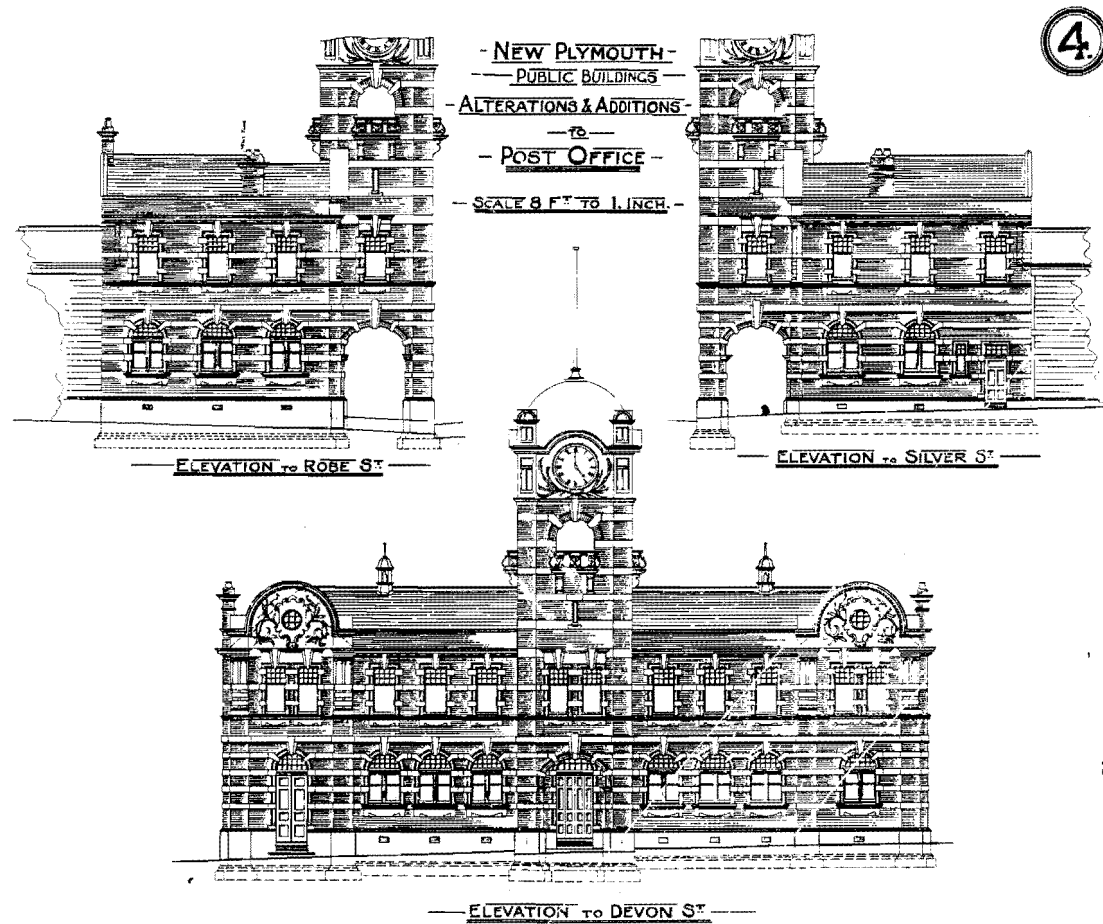
POST OFFICE
VEILINGTON

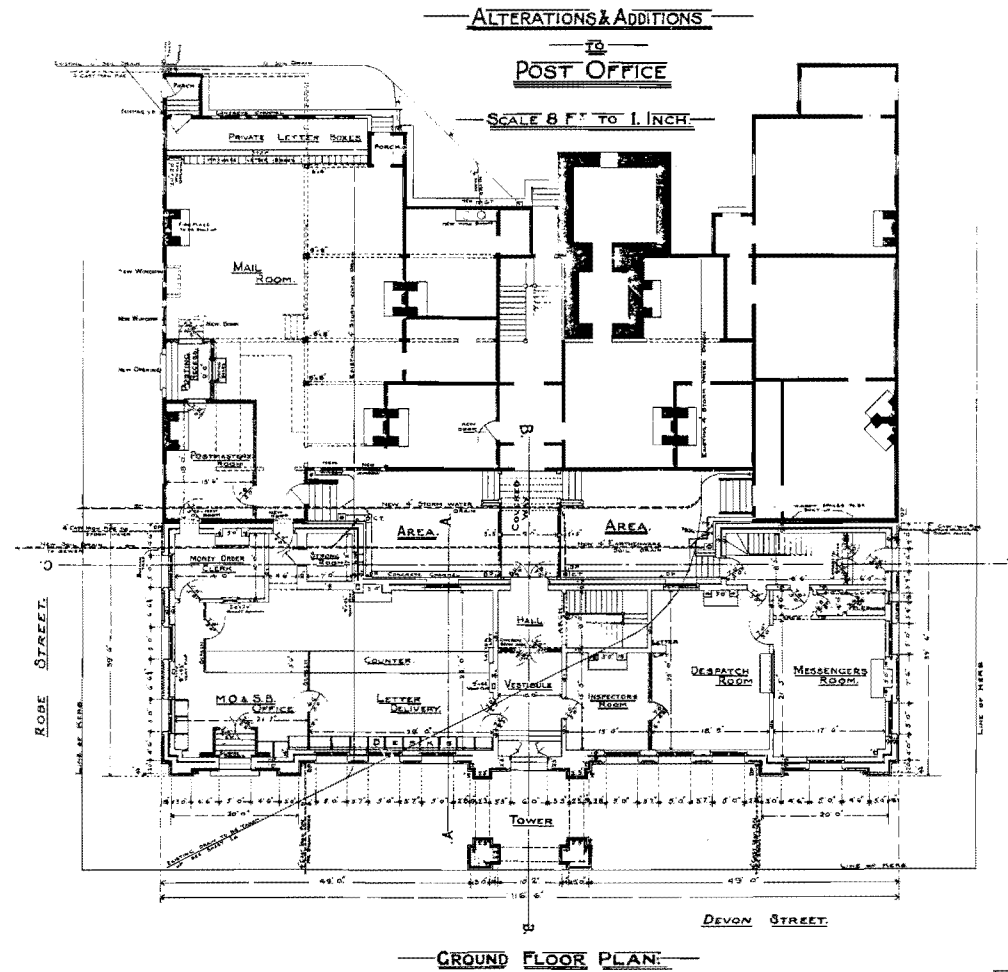


ELEVATION TO MATHERSON STREET.









P.W.D. 21423.

Chapter 5

Parliament Buildings

Seventy-three years after fire destroyed the Palace of Westminster, London, the same fate befell the substantial timber portions of the Parliament Buildings, Wellington.¹ Following in the illustrious footsteps of Charles Barry, John Campbell and Claude Ernest Paton won an architectural competition for the design of new Houses of Parliament.

Those buildings are the crowning achievement of Campbell's career. They remain, however, an achievement which largely exists on paper, not in stone. The building which Campbell and other Public Works Department employees erected has never been completed and the portion which was built is now hemmed in by the 'Beehive' on one side and the Parliamentary Library on the other. Slightly less than half constructed, the Houses of Parliament resemble Campbell's design only in embryonic form. This does not, however, diminish the quality of the design itself nor the importance of the competition in New Zealand's architectural history.

When in 1911 architects in the dominion were designing new Parliament Buildings those in other parts of the British Empire were likewise planning new legislative chambers. The competition designs are eloquent therefore not only of the state of New Zealand architecture but also of its place in the history of British imperial architecture. Within New Zealand itself

the importance of the competition is difficult to underestimate. Parliament Buildings are the decision-making hub of any democracy and are thus intimately connected with its aspirations and ideals as debated by its elected representatives. Moreover, the new Parliament Buildings in New Zealand rose from the ashes of the colonial legislative chambers destroyed the same year that New Zealand was proclaimed a dominion. Thus they symbolise New Zealand's attainment of independent nationhood within the British Empire.

Although Parliament Buildings represent the culmination of Campbell's achievement as an architect, his professional reputation was damaged by his decision to enter the architectural competition for their design. Those employed by the state should not, the New Zealand Institute of Architects charged, be allowed to enter a competition organised by their employer, the government. Preliminary designs created by Campbell for the buildings immediately after the fire had, however, been vilified by the architectural profession. Thus the competition presented him with the opportunity to finally silence criticism of his work. The competition was important for other reasons too. On the eve of the fire Campbell was occupied with the design of the small Baroque post offices, police stations and court houses which he erected throughout New Zealand. The competition held out the promise of a commission for a public building on a grand scale which would occupy the final decade of his career (1912-22) and realise the grand imperial architec-

tural vision latent in such smaller works. Fortuitously, the building would also constitute a focal point for the most concentrated enclave of Campbell's architecture in the dominion. Close to the site of Parliament Buildings, situated between Charlotte and Museum Streets, were his Magistrates Court, Public Trust Office, Custom House, Government Printing Office and Chief Post Office. By 1917, when construction of Parliament Buildings was under way, the Chief Police Station, Waring Taylor Street, also stood amongst this group of buildings. The Houses of Parliament were intended, however, to eclipse them all.

The First Parliament Buildings, Wellington

Campbell's involvement with parliament precedes by over two decades the competition for new buildings. Under his charge the architectural division of the Public Works Department was responsible for many additions to the fated chambers. The first Houses of Parliament had their genesis in the Wellington Provincial Government Buildings designed by George Single in 1857 and completed the following year. In 1865 the government, seated in Auckland, bought the building to serve as Houses of Parliament when the capital was shifted to Wellington that year. Situated on the hill defined by Hill and Molesworth Streets it was separated from Colonel Wakefield's house (appropriated as the Vice-regal residence²) by Sydney Street. It was a simple timber structure with Gothic detailing and had an 'H' plan and

steeply pitched gable roofs interrupted by windows which formed dormers. On the transference of the seat of government a group of mainly single storey additions with gable roofs were made behind Single's building. Completed before the session of July 1865, they comprised a library, four committee rooms and 'some accommodation for Bellamys.'³

The conversion of the buildings from provincial to national legislative chambers also entailed more extensive additions. In June 1866 Edward Rumsey forwarded from Auckland designs to the Colonial Secretary for a new House of Representatives and the raising of a second storey over Bellamys.⁴ Although this extra storey was constructed no major alterations were made to the building until 1872. In that year the Colonial Architect called tenders for the erection of a new Legislative Council Chamber and additions to the House of Representatives.⁵ The Legislative Council Chamber was erected 'on the vacant ground west of the Library'⁶ (behind the former Provincial Council Chambers⁷). Contained within a simple two storey timber block it had an 'H' plan, echoing the form of the original building. The House of Representatives, which faced central Wellington, was more ornate. It was quite possibly designed by Rumsey because in June 1870 Clayton had recommended that that architect's design for a new House of Representatives should be constructed.⁸ However, the extensions were built under Clayton's supervision to drawings that he draughted. Clayton widened the old House

of Representatives and also built new committee rooms and offices under a separate pavilion roof in front of it. The Sydney Street side of those rooms had a gable flanked by two turrets in a similar arrangement to the Sydney Street elevation of the Legislative Council Chambers.⁹ The offices were, however, higher than the rest of the building and had a short 'tower' (which was no higher than the building itself) with a pavilion roof behind 'gables'.

The two chambers were linked internally by a long corridor with offices on either side. When the new Legislative Council Chamber was built and the House of Representatives enlarged the Sydney Street side of this building was also remodelled. Formerly it had constituted the one-storey blocks behind Single's building but now a second storey, ranging with the two legislative chambers, was added as well as bay windows and a small tower and spire. Clayton also intended to replace the remaining portions of Single's building on the Molesworth side of the structure with a new block and octagonal tower.¹⁰ This work was not undertaken but an octagonal tower was built on the Hill Street side of the building.¹¹

Campbell assumed responsibility for this building on his appointment to Wellington in 1888. The collective work of Single, Rumsey and Clayton it had developed in piecemeal fashion as the need for space grew and funds were made available. As commentators observed it was a building which 'in its composite structure exactly typi-

fied the history of New Zealand during the last half century.¹² It chronicled administrative change (the end of the Provincial Governments and establishment of central government in Wellington) and its piecemeal design and construction paralleled that of other colonial buildings of its type. Mountfort's Provincial Council Chambers, Christchurch, 1858-65, for example, developed in this fashion. And like the Canterbury Provincial Council Chambers the Houses of Parliament, Wellington, were Gothic in style. Although neither of those buildings had been constructed to predetermined plans there was a powerful inspirational model for their irregular, picturesque forms in Barry and Pugin's Houses of Parliament, Westminster, 1839-52. However, neither Mountfort nor Clayton adopted the unfashionable perpendicular Gothic of Westminster. They followed, instead, the earlier styles of Gothic championed by Street and Ruskin and exemplified by Street's Law Courts, London, 1866-82.

The first of many minor improvements were made to the building in Campbell's first year in Wellington. In 1888-9 the Public Works Department raised the roof of the engine shed 'To accommodate the additional dynamo required to run the electric light in the Legislative Council',¹³ repaired fences, and painted the exterior of the buildings. Minor works such as these were carried out by the Department annually until the destruction of the buildings.¹⁴ The largest were undertaken in 1891-2 when the ground beneath the library and the western end of the building was excavated, the rotting piles replaced and

new brick and cement foundations laid under the exterior walls.¹⁵ Similarly, the ground beneath the House of Representatives was excavated in 1893-4 to install the 'necessary inlets and machinery'¹⁶ for a ventilation system Turnbull suggested.¹⁷ The work was also supervised by Turnbull.

Major additions were not made until 1898 when new rooms for the General Assembly Library (now known as the Parliamentary Library) was begun. They replaced the northern section of the building which Clayton had reported as early as 1870 to be in a dangerous state.¹⁸ Turnbull designed a three-storey structure but in an effort to reduce its cost Seddon ordered the removal of the top storey and its completion 'in a plain and substantial manner'.¹⁹ According to Seddon the building would now cost 'some £20,000 to £30,000'²⁰ to erect, still three or four times the sum voted for its construction in 1897. Turnbull's supporters in parliament reported him as saying that 'the cutting out of the third storey would have a dwarfing effect and would altogether spoil the architectural appearance of the edifice.'²¹ Nevertheless, his design was modified 'by an officer in the Public Works Department',²² presumably Campbell, 'who had attended a Joint Library Committee meeting'²³ when modification of the plans was discussed. Unfortunately, however, the Public Works Department drawings for the alterations²⁴ do not bear a signature and the identity of their designer is not revealed in other surviving Public Works Department documents.²⁵ Nevertheless, the drawings

and design themselves are not inconsistent with Campbell's other work (such as the Dunedin Law Courts²⁶) created at this time. Moreover, because he was in charge of the architectural division of the Public Works Department he might reasonably be assumed to have taken a more than passing interest in a commission of this importance and political sensitivity.

When the decision was made to omit the final storey of the building 'the brick work had reached the second floor level'.²⁷ The author of the revised designs used the detailing Turnbull indicated in his drawings to finish the building at this level. Thus the tourelles which were to have risen the full height of the third storey were shortened. The gables indicated above the blocks on the Molesworth Street side of the building and at various points along Hill Street were now constructed (with some modifications) over the second storey. However, in the revised designs the two blocks were capped with separate roofs, thus breaking the almost continuous roof line indicated in Turnbull's drawings. The composition was thereby broken into the separate pavilions which had become a hallmark of Public Works Department architecture under Campbell. By breaking the composition in this fashion each pavilion becomes a separate unit in the composition, thus to some extent avoiding the 'dwarfing effect' of the juxtaposition of the larger House of Representatives with the smaller Parliamentary Library building. However, the design remained true to Turnbull's in so far as this was

possible. If Campbell was in fact the architect of the designs his hand was as unobtrusive as possible whilst attempting to solve difficult compositional problems.

Regardless of whether or not he modified Turnbull's work Campbell soon had the opportunity to create his own designs for extensions to the building. The erection of the Parliamentary Library was part of a larger plan to gradually replace all of the timber portions of the Houses of Parliament.²⁸ Buildings could only be replaced, however, if work on reconstruction did not interrupt Parliament itself. Thus on 4 October 1905 Campbell advised the Under-secretary for Public Works, H. J. H. Blow, of his plan for replacing some of the offices along Sydney Street without interfering with the normal functioning of government.²⁹ Because it was not possible, according to Campbell, to replace them 'in the interval between sessions of Parliament',³⁰ he proposed first to construct an entirely new block alongside the old timber buildings. After this new block was completed the timber buildings could be replaced by a 'brick and compo',³¹ structure. When completed these two new portions would be linked by a corridor, thus both replacing some of the timber sections of the old building and providing additional accommodation.

According to Campbell's plan the extra rooms would be erected on the incline near Sydney Street and would therefore be three stories high on one side and two on the other. They would be 'about 40 feet deep',³² (approximately 12 metres) and house committee rooms on

the ground floor and rooms for ministers and their secretaries on the 'middle or top floor as deserved by ministers'.³³ The new two-storey block which would replace the old timber structure would 'provide say 12 large, or 6 large & 10 smaller rooms as may be desired'.³⁴ This block might, Campbell suggested, alternatively be used for ministers' rooms 'if it were preferred to have them nearer the House and Lobby than they would be in the Sydney St building.'³⁵

In 1906 these recommendations were considered by a Joint House Committee which resolved that additional accommodation should be provided. The Committee therefore endorsed in principle Campbell's proposals and considered two designs submitted by him; one which would provide a new kitchen, dining and committee rooms at a cost of £35,000 and another which would provide committee and official rooms only at a cost of £22,000. No decision about which design would be constructed was made until 11 October when at the invitation of the Committee 'an officer of the Public Works Department'³⁶ (presumably Campbell) attended one of their meetings to answer questions. Although the outcome of the meeting is not clear,⁸⁶ Campbell subsequently prepared contract drawings for the building which included both committee rooms and Bellamys at an estimated cost of £23, 500.³⁷ Thus, presumably the committee preferred the cheaper designs but suggested some modifications to it. In any case, tenders were called for the erection of the buildings to this new design³⁸ in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch

and Dunedin in March and April of 1907.³⁹

Like his competition designs, Campbell's proposed extensions remain largely on paper. By the time the foundations were constructed the timber portions of the building had been destroyed by fire and thus it was decided not to erect the superstructure of his additions. The drawings themselves depict a Gothic block which is similar to the portions designed by Turnbull and Clayton. Its fenestration was to be treated in a similar fashion with rectangular windows on the ground floor and some lancets above them. It was also to have the same plastered finish as Turnbull's Parliamentary Library. The tripartite division of the Sydney Street elevation of the building, with its three evenly placed gables is characteristic of Campbell's work. No doubt the three oriel windows were doubtless included to take advantage of the view ('as deserved by Ministers'). The end elevations of the building with their central gables recall the numerous pavilions in that form erected by the Public Works Department.

Early designs for new Parliament Buildings

Following the fire, the government appropriated the adjacent Vice-regal residence for Parliament Buildings and instructed Campbell to prepare two sketch-plans for new accommodation. One sketch was to show possible restorations to the old buildings and the other was to

depict entirely new Parliament Buildings to be constructed on the Government House site.

87. Naturally the restoration designs have a very similar plan to the buildings destroyed by fire. However, the extant foundations for the Sydney Street extensions are incorporated as the catering wing, Bellamys. Campbell intended to alter the Molesworth Street frontage of the building by constructing wings on either side of Turnbull's portico which would enclose
88 a courtyard. In fact his 'rough sketch' for this elevation of the building depicts a structure of very different character from that which it was intended to replace. The composition is symmetrical about a central tower and recalls that of Thomas Fuller's and H. C. Jones's dominion Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Canada, 1859-67.⁴⁰ Its inspiration, however, was very probably the Houses of Parliament, Westminster, themselves. The large tower, for example, with its ogee entrance arch, pinnacles and buttress crown recalls Barry and Pugin's Victoria Tower. However, although the general form of the building as published in the Appendices of the Journals of the House of Representatives was designed by Campbell, its Gothic detailing was not. His cursory sketches were mistakenly sent to the lithographers who redrafted the design before the Public Works Department had time to work on the drawings.

89 Campbell's design for new buildings to be erected on the Government House site have a rectangular plan which again recalls the Houses of Parliament, London. The

perimeter is defined by a suite of rooms linked by a corridor; the House of Representatives and Legislative Council Chambers lie along the shorter axis of the building and a corridor and central lobby lie at right angles to them. Thus four courtyards are defined within the building, providing light and ventilation to the rooms.

90 The elevations of the building could not, however, be more different from Barry and Pugin's Houses of Parliament; Campbell envisaged a structure in the classical idiom. For its date, however, his design is restrained, though some comparison with works he designed around 1908 can be made. The arched windows at the corners of the building are set in aedicules with open-bed triangular pediments which are formed as an extension of the cornice like those of, for example, the Hokitika Government Buildings. Nevertheless, the pedimented entrance portico, central dome and corner pavilions have a stately repose which is more characteristic of Campbell's earlier classical project for the Dunedin Railway Station and the Wellington Custom House building than his Imperial Baroque designs of the first decade of the twentieth-century. In its restraint the design is also similar to works such as Aston Webb's remodelling of the East frontage of Buckingham Palace, 1912-13 (the most important official building in the British Empire). However, the drawings for the new building were sent along with the restoration designs to the lithographers before the Public Works Department

had the opportunity to 'work the cursory sketches into finished designs. It is difficult, therefore, to know whether or not they accord with Campbell's intentions.

Nevertheless the Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, presented both designs to parliament⁴¹ and moved the establishment of a Joint committee to report on the best site for the buildings.⁴² Campbell's own report left few options. It would be almost as expensive, he stated, to rebuild the Houses of Parliament on the old site as it would be to construct entirely new buildings. Moreover, much of the expenditure in restoring the structure would be 'buried beneath the surface'⁴³ in foundations along the Sydney Street incline. And according to Campbell, there was 'no comparison as regards convenience of arrangement.'⁴⁴ He explained that on the old site

the lack of breadth in the ground prevents convenient communication between parts, and the necessarily congested arrangement of the apartments prevents the good lighting and free circulation of air which are absolutely essential in a Parliament Building.⁴⁵

Although the construction of entirely new building would necessarily involve the destruction of Government House, Campbell dismissed that structure as 'badly affected with the worm or borer, and fast depreciating, having been in existence for about thirty-eight years.'⁴⁶ Thus, continued Campbell, its replacement was imminent whatever course of action was decided upon.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, he proposed to construct only half of the new Houses of Parliament at first and to continue using the Vice-regal residence until the second portion of the

building was erected. He envisaged that the second section would be finished six to eight years after the first, by which date Government House would be in a poor state of repair.

His report begged the question of the architectural style of the new buildings but Campbell's preference was obvious. Not only was the old site impractical but because the Gothic Parliamentary Library survived the fire extensions to it would have to be erected in that now unfashionable style. Bereft of the Vice-regal residence, the Government House site would provide scope for the construction of entirely new buildings in the classical idiom which had been adopted for Houses of Parliament in Canada, South Africa and Australia. Thus those politicians who believed that New Zealand should erect a structure which would equal that of other Parliament Buildings in the Empire naturally favoured the Government House site. Campbell must also have realised that the use of that site would give him the opportunity to design a new Vice Regal residence.⁴⁸

Some politicians were not, however, satisfied with either proposal and suggested that the buildings should be erected in a more imposing and less congested area such as Mount Cook, Wellington. Others were still more ambitious. The destruction of the old Parliament Buildings provided New Zealand with the perfect opportunity, they argued, to build a new model government city with Parliament Buildings as its centre-piece. Thus some Members of the House of Representatives (led by the

Member for Palmerston, Mr Wood) attempted to extend the terms of reference of the committee established to consider the site of Parliament Buildings to include those outside Wellington. In the event they were unsuccessful⁴⁹ but their proposal revealed the influence of Australia's commitment to the construction of a new capital city, Canberra.

In any event, the influence of that model capital was pervasive. After presenting Campbell's report Ward submitted his own scheme.⁵⁰ He supported the erection of new Houses of Parliament on the Government House site but suggested closing Sydney Street to create an unimpeded walk-way between the new buildings and the extant Parliamentary Library. Other such buildings and offices would be constructed around the new Parliament Buildings. In time, Ward thought, they might replace the inflammable timber Government Buildings on Lambton Quay. Ward also envisaged a new National Museum erected on the tennis courts behind the old Parliament Buildings.⁵¹

The closure of Sydney Street would, he explained, allow the Department to reshape the land around Parliament Buildings, creating one hill instead of the two separate inclines divided by Sydney Street which existed at the time. The various buildings could then be set in uninterrupted gardens which would incorporate many of the trees and shrubs around Government House. Thus, like the central administrative centres of Ebenezer Howard's proposed 'garden cities' (and the garden suburbs in Britain such as Bedford Park), the legislative and

(proposed) cultural heart of Wellington was designed to include informal public gardens. The same ideas that inspired the design of Canberra, Australia, and New Delhi, India, also influenced politicians who planned a new government centre for New Zealand complete with Parliament Buildings, Government Offices and a National Museum.

Although parliament endorsed Ward's proposal⁵² the Opposition, remained adamant that an entirely new building was not necessary. The government should, it argued, have proceeded with the erection of Campbell's extensions to the former Houses of Parliament as quickly as possible. Together with Government House, the Sydney Street extensions would have provided adequate accommodation for parliament, the Opposition believed, until the buildings were fully restored.⁵³ In reality, however, the fire had reduced the political risk in spending large sums of tax-payers' money on new buildings. And the decision to construct only half of those buildings was frugal while holding out the promise that a grand structure, worthy of the dominion, would be finished one day.

The competition

A competition for new buildings was suggested the day after the fire⁵⁴ but no official announcement on its organisation was forthcoming. In its absence Campbell's sketch plans provided a rallying point for those

architects and politicians who thought that a competition should be held. Not surprisingly, criticism of Campbell's designs was at its most acidic under the cover of parliamentary privilege. On 6 October 1908 the Hon. Mr MacDonald read a letter to the Legislative Council in which the author of the sketch plans was described as a second-rate designer 'who would make a greater success designing a plague camp in the corrugated -iron order of architecture'.⁵⁵ Campbell, the letter continued, should 'offer an architect £1,000 a year to prevent his reputation being lowered'.⁵⁶ In concluding, however, the writer of the letter (whose name was not disclosed) presumed that Campbell was not the author of the designs because he 'was capable of some thing very much better.'⁵⁷

Nevertheless, the comments were an affront to the quality of the work created by the architectural division of the Public Works Department under Campbell's aegis. Only rarely did he respond to public criticism of his work⁵⁸ but on this occasion Campbell wrote to the Minister of Public Works complaining that the comments were 'rather unfair to the Public Works Department'.⁵⁹ His response was read in the House of Representatives by the Prime Minister who added that the 'criticisms of the Government Architect ... are not warranted'⁶⁰ and are 'without justification.'⁶¹ In the same speech the Prime Minister announced that a competition would be organised for the design of new Parliament Buildings and that the Government Architect would be eligible to compete.

By 1911 architectural competitions had become well-established as an 'accepted and typical part of architectural life.'⁶² Their advantages were well-known. They elicited a large number of possible designs for comparatively little cost. Although architects might not agree with the judication, they could not complain that they had not been offered a chance, albeit a slim one, to design the building which was eventually erected. And this particular competition provided Campbell with an opportunity to finally silence those who had been so critical of his sketch plans for the new buildings.

However, when the conditions of the competition were made available in February 1911⁶³ they fueled rather than dampened the controversy over the buildings. It was immediately apparent that they differed in two important ways from competition regulations formulated by the Royal Institute of British Architects and adopted, in slightly modified form, by the New Zealand Institute. First, although R.I.B.A. and N.Z.I.A. regulations stated that the name of the assessor should be announced in the original advertisements for a competition the government refused to disclose who the judge of New Zealand's competition would be. If it disclosed his name, it argued, architects would simply pander to the assessor's architectural taste instead of creating the wide range of designs the competition was designed to elicit. However, the N.Z.I.A. feared that the government's reticence simply hid the appointment of a lay assessor. In the event they need not have worried. A professional

architect, Colonel Vernon, Government Architect of New South Wales, Australia, was appointed to judge the competition.⁶⁴ However, much to the Institute's chagrin the government retained the right to decide which design, if any, would be constructed. Moreover, if it considered no one design suitable the government was intent on combining the best features of a number of them to form one that did.

Second, R.I.B.A. regulations also stated that

no Promoter of a Competition, and no Assessor engaged upon it, nor any employee of either, shall compete OR ASSIST A COMPETITOR, or act as Architect, or joint Architect, for the proposed work.⁶⁵

Thus under these regulations Campbell and other state employees should have been excluded from entering the competition. Moreover, the regulations were preceded by the statement that 'Members of the Royal Institute of British Architects and allied Societies do not compete excepting under conditions based on these Regulations.'⁶⁶ Thus, the discrepancies between the competition conditions and R.I.B.A. regulations, threatened to exclude all New Zealand architects who were members of the R.I.B. A. and/or the allied N. Z. I. A.

Seager led the protest against the competition conditions. On 2 April 1911 he and other Christchurch architects waited upon the Minister of Public Works, Roderick McKenzie, claiming that they 'represented the [New Zealand] institute in as much as it could be represented in a single town'.⁶⁷ They informed him that members of the R.I.B.A. were 'honour bound not to

compete unless the conditions conformed⁶⁸ to that Institute's regulations. McKenzie was unimpressed. He could, he said, inform the deputation 'at once'⁶⁹ that the government was 'not concerned about the R.I.B.A. in the slightest degree.'⁷⁰ If, he said, the government had intended 'that British architects should compete they would have advertised in Great Britain and Australia, but they had reserved the competition entirely for New Zealand.'⁷¹ Clearly, neither McKenzie nor the government itself properly understood the relationship between the N.Z.I.A. and the R.I.B.A. Allied to its British parent, the New Zealand Institute was, in fact, intent upon upholding in the dominion the principles and professional codes adopted in Britain. Moreover, some members of the New Zealand Institute would still have perceived themselves as British architects working in one of the colonies, rather than 'New Zealand' architects. Although the government hoped to tap New Zealand nationalism and limit the cost of the competition by excluding foreigners, its refusal to acknowledge the authority of the R.I.B.A. lay at the heart of many of the complaints about the competition.

Accordingly a representative of the N.Z.I.A. wrote to the Under-secretary of Public Works, H. J. H. Blow, on 21 December 1911 outlining changes that the Institute submitted should be made to the competition. Central to them was the appointment of an assessor, 'an architect of established reputation',⁷² to both amend the conditions and judge the entries. In response the Under-secretary

agreed to Seager's request that competitors should now be required to furnish a statement 'that the design was his own work, or was prepared by assistants working under his immediate supervision'⁷³ and that no competitor should be eligible for more than one prize. However, he did not disclose any information about the assessor.

Thus the N. Z. I.A. sent another letter to the Under-secretary reiterating the importance of the appointment of a properly qualified judge nominated by the Council of the R.I.B.A. The Institute also charged that the Government Architect's designs were 'being prepared during ordinary business hours and certainly at the country's expense.'⁷⁴ In response the government advised each architect in the civil service that his competition entry was to be prepared 'entirely in his own time, at his own expense, and on his own premises, or, at any rate not in Government offices'.⁷⁵ However, few of those in private practice believed that the government's directive would be taken seriously. It would be ignored, one architect claimed, because it was not possible to meet the competition deadline (31 July⁷⁶) without working on drawings during business hours. Any architect, he continued, 'who stayed up half a night working on competition designs'⁷⁷ would 'be of little service in his office the next morning.'⁷⁸

Unable to persuade the government to alter the conditions the New Zealand Institute of Architects advised its members not to enter the competition.⁷⁹ However, despite the boycott, thirty-three designs were

received; two of them submitted by Campbell, one of which was created with Paton and the other with Charles Lawrence. Thus, unlike the Australian Institutes who a year later (1912) boycotted the competition for the design of Canberra⁸⁰ because it was not organised according to R.I.B.A. regulations, the N.Z.I.A. was unable to dissuade New Zealand architects from entering a competition which was also thought to be unprofessional in organisation.

There are many reasons why the Institute was unsuccessful. Formed just six years before the competition, the N.Z.I.A. was an affiliation of various local associations.⁸¹ The competition was therefore the first test of its cohesion as a national body. Moreover, there was already division within the national Council of the N.Z.I.A. over whether or not the competition should be boycotted. The remit calling for architects not to enter was passed by only one vote (7-6).⁸² And Seager, who had spearheaded the protest against the competition, now championed the right of architects to enter.⁸³ Because, he argued, the government had not properly outlined what the size of the rooms and their relationship to each other should be in the new buildings architects need not design a structure which would actually serve the needs of those for whom it was intended. Rather the government had organised 'an academical competition for an ideal Parliament House.'⁸⁴ Such an extraordinary competition, he submitted, need not be subject to R.I.B.A. regulations and because the

building need not serve any real purpose 'civil servants would have no advantage over other competitors.'⁸⁵

This position was hardly taken seriously by the Institute. Seager's volt-face was read as an attempt to circumvent R.I.B.A. and N.Z.I.A. regulations so that he and other architects could compete. However, most architects realised that the government's failure to clearly state what was required would play into the hands of the Government Architect who would know better than those in private practice what was needed in the new buildings. In fact the Dominion went so far as to allege that Campbell had written the competition conditions himself.⁸⁶ And he would, one architect charged under the cloak of anonymity, have access to information from officials who to him would be ' 'Jones'', ' 'Brown'' or ' 'Smith'' ' ⁸⁷ but would be 'inaccessible behind barriers of official reserve'⁸⁸ to others. Some architects also noted caustically that the Public Works Department had time to prepare competition entries but were so overworked that they decided to entrust those in private practice with designing the Government Buildings, Christchurch and the Public Trust Office, Auckland.⁸⁹

In fact it would be difficult to refute the possibility that Campbell may have enjoyed an advantage over other competitors. As the Evening Post observed, to say that he was not in 'the best position to know the essential Government requirements'⁹⁰ was to admit that he was not properly qualified for his position as Government Architect. However, Campbell was not the unscrupulous

opportunist that the 'press' sometimes portrayed. He had, as the Dominion alleged, been instructed to prepare conditions for the competition but his response was in fact to inform the Under-secretary of Public Works that they should be those of the New Zealand Institute of Architects.⁹¹

Nor can it be alleged that the N.Z.I.A. was entirely unsuccessful in dissuading architects from entering the competition. Of its 110 members only 18 entered.⁹² Thus Campbell competed against many young architects who were not yet eligible for membership; architects who by virtue of their training (or lack of it) were not suitable candidates for membership or who had for some other reason not applied for membership. Nevertheless, the inexperience of many of the architects must have increased the chances of N.Z.I.A. members. In the event they won all four premiums and took seven of the nine places awarded.

The reaction to the announcement of 27 September 1911 that Campbell and Paton had won the competition was understandably mixed. Although the Institute sent Campbell a letter of congratulations six architects resigned their membership of the Institute at the Council's meeting on 15 December.⁹³ Another two took the same action in February.⁹⁴ Never before had there been a mass resignation from the Institute. However, noting that no architect offered any written explanation of his decision to resign, the remaining members resolved that 'the only course open to the Institute was to accept

the resignations with regret that these members should have seen fit to take this course.'⁹⁵ The lack of a written statement about why these architects resigned now means that it is difficult to know why they resigned. However, there can be little doubt that their action was politically charged. Furthermore, many of the architects who resigned were competitors in the Parliament Buildings competition. And all of them, with the notable exception of Lawrence, had been beaten by an architect who it was avered ought not to have been allowed to compete. In any case, there was no issue facing the Institute, apart from the Parliament Buildings competition, which seems likely to have provoked this action.

In the event the spate of resignations left three seats on the Council vacant, one of which was offered to Campbell, without a proper election. The offer read as tacit support of his decision to enter the competition. However, Campbell declined the seat stating that he too might resign from the Institute. Convinced that he should not take this action, the President of the N.Z.I.A. visited Campbell at his offices and later reported to the Council that 'Mr. Campbell thought that time would not permit him to accept a seat'⁹⁶ but he 'would not for the present press his resignation.'⁹⁷ He also added that 'Mr. Campbell's suggested resignation had no relation to other and recent resignations',⁹⁸ implying that architects were likely to assume some [mistaken?] link between the two. However, Campbell's membership did eventually lapse. He is not listed as a registered member of the Institute in

1914 nor thereafter.⁹⁹ In a final letter to the N.Z.I.A. he requested that those members who had resigned still be allowed legal registration as architects under the proposed Bill of Registration.¹⁰⁰ In many ways, however, Campbell's decision to enter the Parliament Buildings competition isolated him from the rest of his profession in New Zealand. Certainly, his obituary in the Dominion lists him as a Fellow of the R.I.B.A. but not of the N.Z.I.A., despite the fact that he was a Fellow and an inaugural member of its Wellington branch.¹⁰¹

However, he could take some consolation from the fact that the other competition awards were also controversial. The second premium was awarded to the firm of Thomas Turnbull and Son and J. Seddon, the third to W. H. Gummer and the fourth to Campbell and Lawrence. If architects felt aggrieved that the government awarded first and fourth premiums to state employees, they were no more convinced of the fairness of the second placement of Turnbull and Seddon's design. They too had strong connections with the government. William Turnbull, was the son of Thomas Turnbull (the former Public Works Department employee who had designed the General Assembly Library) and John Seddon was a son of the former Liberal Premier, Richard John Seddon. Although W. H. Gummer had no connections with either the Public Works Department or the government, he had broken the terms of the competition in so far as he created his designs overseas. Thus Auckland architects, interpreting the statement that only New Zealand residents were eligible to enter the

competition in its literal sense, sought to have his design disallowed.¹⁰²

The competition designs

The premiated designs were exhibited shortly after the competition results were announced.¹⁰³ Not surprisingly, given the context in which the competition took place, there was little support for Vernon's decision. The journal Progress, for example, championed Gummer's design over Campbell and Paton's.¹⁰⁴ However, Vernon's taste was both catholic and respected¹⁰⁵ and criticism focussed on the designs themselves rather than Vernon's judgement.

91, 92 The plans of both of Campbell's designs are similar. Each of them has an outer suite of rooms within which the House of Representatives and Legislative Council Chambers are contained. Courtyards provide light and ventilation to the interior rooms. The winning design is however, more irregular than the fourth-placed entry. Whereas Campbell and Lawrence's design has a roughly rectangular plan, a wing which contains the library is pushed out at one end of Campbell and Paton's entry. Thus Campbell and Paton's design represents an alternative solution to the problem of incorporating all the important legislative rooms within the half of the building to be constructed first, whilst still maintaining some sense of classical symmetry. By creating a subsidiary wing set back from

the main facade of the building Campbell and Paton were able to position the House of Representatives and Legislative Council Chamber equidistant from the main entrance in the half of the building that was to be erected first. However, in his fourth-placed design Campbell and Lawrence compromised such logical planning in favour of more regular and properly symmetrical facades.

Nevertheless, both designs are examples of axial planning, and the orderly transition from one room to the next along central and subsidiary axes creates a processional setting for parliament. The passage of a Bill from the House of Representatives to the Legislative Council, for example, is given architectural expression by the placement of one chamber adjacent to the next. Unlike the Palace of Westminster, however, the seating in the chambers is arranged in a more 'modern' horse shoe fashion.¹⁰⁶ Although the other competition designs are also examples of axial planning New Zealand architects experimented with forms that were not employed at Westminster and which Campbell did not utilise. Thus the designs entered by W. O. Beere and J. E. Greenish have octagonal shaped chambers; the chambers in the designs entered by E. M. Blake and J. Bennie, Hugh C. Grierson and Edmund Anscombe are almost square, and Turnbull and Seddon's and H.S. Morran's and R. B. Owens's designs have chambers with apsidal ends. Many of the entries (for example, Seager's and Blake's) have circular libraries; a form which has its ancestry in Sydney Smirke's Reading

Room of the British Museum, 1857, and James Gibb's Radcliffe Camera, Oxford, 1737-49.

91, 92 Just as the plans entered by Campbell invite comparison, so too do the facades. Both of them are designed in the 'Grand Manner' and the composition of the main elevation of the winning entry, with its central and corner pavilions linked by a long range (screened by a colonnade) is mirrored by the fourth-placed design. Thus in both designs Campbell capitalises on the closure of Sydney Street to create long ranges emphasising their centre and end pavilions and enlivening the buildings with domes or cupolas. In both entries the cornice and entablature remain at a constant height despite the addition of an attic storey over the pavilions of the winning design. In each design, too, much of the stone work is rusticated.

Despite the similarities between both the plan and elevations of the two designs, Campbell's authorship of the winning competition entry is uncertain. W. F. C. Vine, who also disputes Campbell's authorship of the Public Trust Office, Wellington, believes that

the first prize was won by Claud [sic] Paton in conjunction with A. Stevenson, but owing to certain regulations, etc. the design had to be entered in the name of J. Campbell and C. Paton.¹⁰⁷

The evidence supporting this statement is, at first reading, compelling. The Public Works Department contract drawings for the Houses of Parliament are registered in Paton and Stevenson's names.¹⁰⁸ And

although the drawings themselves are signed by a large number of architects and draftsmen none of them bears Campbell's signature.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, Alan Stevenson and Claude Paton were close friends outside the office, and thus were likely to have worked together in creating competition entries.

However, such evidence is hardly conclusive. There appear to have been no regulations which would have precluded Stevenson entering the design in his own name. And although the contract drawings are registered in Paton and Stevenson's names, this does not necessarily indicate that the winning competition entry itself was their work.

But whoever created the winning design, Campbell assumed responsibility for construction of the building when Public Works Department employees won the competition. Thus his name is inscribed on the building's foundation stone and he is described as its architect in government publications.¹¹⁰ Moreover, the design that was partially erected is, as Vine notes,¹¹¹ a combination of both those entered in Campbell's name.

The decision to alter the winning entry may well have been taken in response to criticism of that design. Many of the rooms would, it was claimed, be dimly lit and poorly ventilated. The entrance pavilion was also described as a 'very weak feature of the front elevation.'¹¹² Because all the pavilions were of similar design it was difficult to distinguish the main entrance

93 from the rest of the building. In the event the Houses of

Parliament were erected to the plan of the fourth-placed entry and a new entrance pavilion was designed which recalls that of Campbell and Lawrence's design. Saucer domes were also incorporated over the end pavilions, thus further differentiating them from the entrance pavilion.

The Baroque embellishments of the final design are characteristic of Campbell's work. The ionic capitals have drop ornaments in between the volutes, and there are cartouches on the attic storey of the central pavilion. Some of the arches have large 'scroll [shaped] projecting keystones',¹¹³ with 'reed and ribbon drop ornaments',¹¹⁴ (swags) on either side. 'Ribbon enriched wreaths',¹¹⁵ were designed for the Museum Street corner of the building and the Royal Coat of Arms is incorporated in the design of the central pavilion.

The ornamentation and the design as a whole is inspired by modern Imperial Baroque designs, though it is unlikely that Campbell had any one model in mind for the entire structure. His use of a colonnade, set between centre and end pavilions, invites comparison with Claude Perrault's East Front of the Louvre, Paris, 1667-70, which had inspired Sir John Burnet's Edward VII Galleries of the British Museum, London, 1904-14. The central ribbed dome which caps a tall drum looks back to James Gibbs' Radcliffe Camera, Oxford, which had inspired works such as John Belcher's Ashton Memorial, Williamson Park, 1904 - 9. In a more general sense, the bold architectural massing of the dome and pavilions is reminiscent of Hawksmoor, and the construction of a central dome over a

building which incorporates a colonnade recalls the work of Wren. The rustication is also characteristic of Vanbrugh's designs. And Campbell's choice of the Imperial Baroque style, the national style of Britain, is of course emblematic of New Zealand's allegiance to the Crown and her membership of the British Empire. Her commitment to the democratic ideal is, likewise, acknowledged. Situated on 'the hill', the marble-clad facade has a long ancestry which takes in many of the classical Parliament Buildings of the world, stretching back to the Acropolis. Similarly, the French influence in the design (evident in the Beaux-Arts axial planning and the similarities between the main elevation and the design of the East Front of the Louvre) again emphasises New Zealand's commitment to democracy, if not the republicanism of ancient Greece or modern France.

Campbell's design compares favourably with the other competition entries. By 1911 its Imperial Baroque style was clearly accepted as the most suitable for such public buildings. The Otago Daily Times reported that only two of the competition entries were in the Gothic idiom.¹¹⁶ Those designs were presumably George Troup and William
94 Gray Young's fifth-placed entry with its central tower and entrance porch modelled on Giles Gilbert Scott's
95 Liverpool Cathedral (begun in 1903), and Alex Douglas Spier's unplaced design which has a long Gothic range enlivened by towers, inspired by the Palace of Westminster.

The preponderance of Imperial Baroque designs

testifies to the influence of architectural journals and overseas experience in spreading that style. In fact, many entries were modelled on recently erected British town halls. Such government buildings matched, better than the Houses of Parliament of many of the larger dominions, the scale and expenditure envisaged for New Zealand's legislative chambers. Thus 'F. Mitchell and Co., c/o Mr. Clere. Wellington' ¹¹⁷ explained that in preparing their designs 'it was decided to adopt the London County Council Building as a model' ¹¹⁸ but that the sum stipulated (£110,000) would 'not permit the erection of a really monumental building.' ¹¹⁹ Similarly the design submitted by the Dunedin firm of architects, 96 McDonald and Dunning, with its central-domed wing flanked by towers and subsidiary blocks recalls the composition of Lanchester, Stewart and Rickard's City Hall and Law Courts Cardiff, 1897, a building which had inspired Campbell's Greymouth and Masterton court houses. Likewise Turnbull and Seddon's premiated design bears comparison with William Young's Glasgow City Chambers, 1881-9.

The dominant influence on the competition entries 97 was, however, Wren. Edmund Anscombe's entry, for example, has a dome which recalls that of St Paul's, London. 98 Similarly, J. Charlesworth's entry is very closely modelled on A. Brumwell Thomas's Wrenaissance design for the Belfast City Hall, 1897-1906. But designs of slightly 99 different character were also entered. Seager's design, with its long range and central and corner breaks, has

comparatively little ornamentation and thus looks forward to the Stripped Classicism fashionable between the wars.

100 W. H. Gummer's design for a building with a long two storey block with neither a dome nor a tower might be read as a precursor of his less richly ornamented National Museum, a building which was originally planned as part of the parliamentary precinct. Although Campbell's designs were not the most progressive submitted, they were nevertheless the equal of most of them. They also recall the other Parliament and Government Buildings erected throughout the British Empire.

Clearly, the same seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Baroque architecture inspired British architects working in other colonies. The domed towers of Baker's Union Buildings, Pretoria, South Africa, 1910-13, recall Wren's towers at Greenwich Hospital, and their amphitheatre and colonnade has Greek and Roman imperial ancestry. J. S. Murdoch's provisional Parliament House, Canberra, Australia, 1927,¹²⁰ has very little of the ornamentation of Campbell's designs, but the inspiration for its long two-storey range with slightly projecting bays, is, nevertheless, the Baroque designs of Lutyens and Baker. Similarly, in Canada a large number of Beaux-Arts style legislative buildings were constructed which belong to the same family group as Campbell's designs. The Legislative Buildings of Alberta, Edmonton 1908-12, Saskatchewan, Regina, 1908-12, and Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1912-13, for example, were designed in the Grand Manner

with columned porticos and large Renaissance domes. Earlier, British Columbia constructed F. W. Rattenbury's Provincial Government Building, Victoria, 1898, a highly eclectic design with a long range and central dome. Campbell was most probably well aware of such buildings and was sent an illustration of Rattenbury's building accompanied by a note challenging him to do better.

Unlike many Houses of Parliament overseas, however, none of the designs prepared for those in Wellington have any peculiarly national character. Such character is, however, clearly evinced by other imperial buildings. The coupled columns and twin domes of Baker's Union Buildings symbolize the union of Dutch and British in South Africa. In Canada, the Beaux-Arts character of many of the Legislative buildings is suggestive of French and British co-operation in that dominion. Similarly the white plastered facades of the provisional Houses of Parliament, Australia, were inspired by the architecture of Mediterranean countries which Australian architects envisaged would provide a springboard from which ~~of~~ a distinctive style of building would develop in their country. By contrast, Campbell's Parliament Buildings were designed with no peculiarly New Zealand character except that which was to be imparted by the use of New Zealand stone to clad two of its facades. This reflects, perhaps, both the state of public architecture in New Zealand and the strength of the dominion's political ties with the Mother Country during the second decade of the twentieth-century.

Thus it is hardly surprising that there is also very little that is distinctive in the design of the interior of the building. For the most part, little money was available for the decoration of the building and competitors were not required to furnish designs for rooms. Indeed Campbell found that because of the lack of funds most rooms had to be simply plastered and painted. However, special attention was paid to the design of the entrance foyer, the House of Representatives, Legislative Council Chamber and the Native Affairs committee room. Only in the latter, now known as the Maori Affairs Committee Room, is there any peculiarly New Zealand character. Appropriately the room was decorated in an approximation of a Maori Meeting House, the walls of which were subsequently lined with a facsimile of the Treaty of Waitangi. In the entrance foyer, however,

101 Campbell may well have been inspired by Baker and Lutyens, but the massive Doric columns and the pared-down classical decoration which he seemingly envisaged could not be realised because of inadequate funds. By contrast, the two chambers are more ornate. The aedicules with

102 open-bed pediments over the Speaker's chair in the House of Representatives and the throne in the Legislative Council Chamber are characteristic of Campbell's work. And the panelling of both chambers with New Zealand timbers reveals the same commitment to the use of native materials that is evident on the exterior of the building.

Construction of the first stage of the Houses of Parliament began in 1912. The foundations were laid by the Public Works Department and the Christchurch firm, Hansford, Mills and Hardie, won the contract for the super-structure with a tender of £151,639.¹²¹ Although in 1912 the new Reform Government decided to omit the dome and cupola from the schedule of work for the first stage¹²² the successful tender was, nevertheless, forty-thousand pounds in excess of the sum stipulated in the competition conditions for that part of the building. There were also problems in the course of erecting the structure. Hansford, Mills and Hardie agreed to finish the building by December 1915 but the First World War prevented its completion until 1922.

Just as critical, however, was the failure of the marble quarries in Sandy Bay, Nelson, to produce the large, unfractured blocks that the Public Works Department envisaged. As a result a new quarry was opened at Kairuru, Takaka, and a tram-way constructed to the sea to transport the blocks to Wellington. The expense in procuring the marble (which it was claimed exceeded the cost of importing marble from Italy prior to the war¹²³) greatly increased the cost of the building. These spiralling expenses and the delay in completing the work led the contractors to charge that Campbell should not have specified a material which he could not be certain was available. The building should, they submitted, have been constructed in Mount Somers stone. In fact Campbell had called tenders for the construction of the building

in that material but he never had any intention of accepting any of them. His sole purpose was to encourage lower tenders for marble from contractors who could not be certain which material the government intended to use.¹²⁴ The grandeur of the design should not, he thought, be compromised by the use of a less noble stone which would not last as long as marble. However, by the time the front and back elevations of the brick and concrete structure had been clothed in grey marble from Kairuru, Nelson, its cost had risen to £445,687.17.

The erection of the rest of Campbell's design (with the exception of the domes) was mooted in 1951.¹²⁵ However, since its completion in 1922 New Zealand architects had, like those in other parts of the Commonwealth, embraced modernism. Moreover, the skills and craftsmanship necessary for the faithful execution of Campbell's design had become scarce. If, it was claimed, the building was to be completed, craftsmen would have ~~had~~ to be brought to New Zealand from Italy to work the marble. Campbell's former employer, the Ministry of Works, considered three options to provide further accommodation for parliament. The first was the demolition and total replacement of the portion of Campbell's design which had been erected; the second was the completion of the building as designed by Campbell; and the third was the construction of a new building of modern design adjacent to it.¹²⁶

The Ministry of Works supported this last proposal and produced their own design for a tower block to be

erected next to the old building. However, the engagement of Basil Spence (1907-76) to advise the New Zealand Government on the provision of more space for parliament (following a public outcry over the Ministry of Works' proposal) resulted in a radical revision of the design for this adjunct to Campbell's building. Spence's work at Coventry Cathedral, 1951-62, provided him with valuable experience in designing buildings adjacent to historic structures which no doubt influenced the government's decision to appoint him as a consultant. However, in both his appointment and his design itself imperial connections persist. A British architect born in India, Spence had worked for Lutyens preparing drawings for New Delhi and must have known Baker's circular Legislative Building, 1920-6,¹²⁷ in that imperial Capital. Thus the form of his 'Beehive', which recalls the Tower of Babel, may also have been inspired by that work. However, its exposed concrete and large areas of glass are born of an aesthetic which was foreign to those imperial architects. With its construction, John Campbell's vision of one unified legislative building in the grand manner, sadly transformed into yet another of the many piecemeal additions to New Zealand's Houses of Parliament and their precinct.

Footnotes

- 1 On the destruction of Parliament Buildings, Wellington, see Evening Post, 12 December 1907, p.8.
- 2 Replaced in 1871 by the Government House designed by Clayton.
- 5 See Ibid, 1873, H.-4, p.1.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 John Stacpoole, Colonial Architecture in New Zealand, Wellington, 1976, identifies 'Clayton's Legislative Chamber' as the portion of the building depicted on the right in plate 108, p.130. Plans of the building entitled 'Proposed Allotment of Rooms in the Parliament Buildings', Journals and the Appendix to the Journals of the Legislative Council of New Zealand, no. 14, 1877, unpaginated, and plan number P.W.D. 17064, dated 1891, identify this section of the building as the House of Representatives. The Legislative Council Chamber itself is shown in both these drawings behind Single's building, that is, on the extreme left of the photograph reproduced by Stacpoole. This is consistent with Clayton's description of the building as 'west' of the library which in the 1870s was situated behind the present Parliamentary Library. It is also consistent with Clayton's statement that an entirely new chamber would be built on vacant land.
- 8 On Clayton's recommendations see A.J.H.R., D.-6, 1870, p.5. Rumsey's drawings have not, however, been located and without them it is difficult to know whether the building erected was designed by him or not.
- 9 A photograph captioned '1897. From Molesworth Street. Original provincial portion on right.' which shows the committee rooms and remaining portion of Single's building is reproduced in Wilson, p. 317.
- 10 Clayton's design for the Molesworth Street elevation is reproduced in Anne Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton: Colonial Architect', M. A. thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1985, p.107.
- 11 See the photograph captioned 'About 1895. View from Government House Grounds' reproduced in Wilson, p. 317. The top of the tower and spire is visible behind the Legislative Council Chamber.
- 12 Evening Post, 11 December 1907, p.7.

13 A.J.H.R., 1889, D.-1, p.38.

14 In general these repairs consisted of painting, alterations to the seating arrangements, rearrangement of the grounds and installation and maintenance of fire appliances. Foundations for the Ballance Memorial were laid in February 1897 (see A.J.H.R., 1897, D.-1, Appendix E, p.62) and a new residence erected for the custodian in 1905-6 (see Ibid, 1906, D.-1, Appendix E, p.63).

15 See A.J.H.R., 1893, D.-1, Appendix E, p.35.

16 Ibid, 1894, D.-1, Appendix F, p.40.

17 On Turnbull's authorship of the system see Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 1, (Wellington Provincial District), Wellington, 1897, p.586.

18 See A.J.H.R., 1870, D.-6, pp.3-5.

19 Quoted in Grahame Anderson, 'The Land and the Building' ('The General Assembly Library'), Newsletter of the Wellington Regional Committee of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, vol.1, no.4, 1977, p.16.

20 Quoted in Ibid.

21 Quoted in Ibid, p. 17.

22 Quoted in Oroya Day, 'The Origins of the Design' ('The General Assembly Library'), Newsletter of the Wellington Regional Committee of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, vol.1, no.4, 1977, p.19.

23 Ibid.

24 P.W.D. 18522 held by the Parliamentary Library, Wellington.

25 The architect's name is not recorded in the Public Works Department Plan Registers. Drawings were, however, prepared by James Hislop showing the top storey, plans and sections of the building in 1910. See plan number P.W.D. 27645.

26 Day, p.20, also suggests that there is some stylistic connection between these buildings.

27 Anderson, p.17.

28 The construction of timber buildings in the central city would now infringe city by-laws. See N.Z.P.D., vol. 140, 1907, p.160.

29 W1, 24/26, Part 0, see the note headed 'New Zea-

land Public Works From Architect P.W. Subject Parliament Buildings - Re proposed additions'

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., Report of the Joint House Committee, Friday 12 October 1906.

37 Ibid., Memorandum Under-secretary of Public Works [to Campbell?], Campbell's note at the foot of the page reads 'Plans & c now complete. The estimated cost is £23, 500 0 . J Campbell 18/3/07'.

38 P.W.D. 22537.

39 A list of the precise dates that tender notices were placed in the newspapers of the larger cities is contained in W1 24/26 Part 0. The earliest notices were placed in newspapers on 28 March and the latest on the 23 April. The tender of Invercargill builder, Michael Frain, was accepted. See The Evening Post, 20 May 1907, p.8.

40 Unlike Campbell's tower, however, Fuller's and Jones's does not provide entrance to an interior courtyard. It is, however, an elaborate porte-cochère. Wren's Tom Tower, Oxford, Christ Church is perhaps one of the ultimate models for the arrangement in Campbell's design.

41 On or about 2 July 1908. See N.Z.P.D., vol. 143, 1908, p.112.

42 See Ibid., p.330.

43 Ibid., p. 112.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Government House was not the success that Campbell envisaged. On reaction to the design see N.Z.P.D., vol. 145, 1908, p.907, Press, 13 January 1911, p.5 and Grey River Argus and Blackball News, 29

May 1908, p.3.

48 Government House was in fact used as Parliamentary Buildings until shortly after 15 October 1969 when a contract was signed for its demolition. See Wilson, p. 328.

49 See N.Z.P.D., vol. 143, 1908, p.365.

50 See Ibid, pp. 112-115.

51 Plans for a national museum had already been prepared by the Public Works Department. Tenders were invited in 1907 but they were not constructed. The present building designed by Gummer and Ford at Mount Cook (one of the proposed sites for Parliament Buildings) was opened in 1936.

52 N.Z.P.D., vol. 145, 1908, p.876.

53 On the Opposition's position see the comments of the Leader of the Opposition recorded in Ibid, p. 335.

54 See Evening Post, 12 December 1907, p.8.

55 N.Z.P.D., vol. 145, 1908, pp. 906-7.

56 Ibid, p.909.

57 Ibid.

58 Despite, for example, the criticism of his winning competition design he appears to have made no public reply to it.

59 N.Z.P.D., vol. 145, 1908, p.869.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Roger H. Harper, Victorian Architectural Competitions: An Index to British and Irish Architectural Competitions in 'The Builder' 1843 -1900, London, 1983, p.xvi.

63 Copies of the competition conditions were available from the Public Works Office, Wellington, at a cost of £1 and available for inspection at Public Works Offices in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. See Press, 28 February 1911, p.1.

64 I can find no evidence to support the statement that Campbell and Paton's design 'was deemed, in the judgement of an eminent panel of assessors, to be most suitable.' (A Brief History of Public Buildings

in New Zealand, Wellington, 1970, unpaginated). Although the government had originally planned to appoint a lay committee it eventually appointed a professional architect as assessor. See Dominion, 15 April 1911, p.6. Vernon's report on the competition designs acknowledges the clerical assistance of Mr W McNamara and the facilities made available by the Under-secretary of Public Works but no 'panel of assessors' is mentioned. Vernon's report is recorded in N.Z.P.D., vol.156, 1911, pp. 132,3 and was published in A Selection of Competitive Designs for the Proposed New Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington, N.Z., Wellington, 1911, unpaginated.

65 'Regulations of the Royal Institute of British Architects for the Architectural Competitions', The R.I.B.A. Kalendar 1911-12, London, 1911, p.545.

66 Ibid.

67 See Dominion, 3 April 1911, p.6. The deputation did not represent the New Zealand Institute of Architects in any official sense. Thus Seager was later criticised for making statements on behalf of the Institute when it had not yet formulated a position on the competition. See Dominion, 7 April 1911, p.2.

68 Dominion, 3 April 1911, p.6.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 See 'Chronicle of Proceedings of the N.Z.I.A.', The New Zealand Institute of Architects Journal of Proceedings, vol.1, no.1, April 1912, p.32.

73 Ibid, p.37.

74 Ibid, p. 38.

75 Ibid, p.39. A circular was prepared for Public Works Department employees outlining this new condition entry. See W4 15/1911 cited in Rosslyn J. Noonan, By Design: A Brief History of the Public Works Department, Ministry of Works 1820-1970, Wellington 1975, pp. 95,98.

76 Later extended to 31 August. Seager's deputation had asked for the deadline to be extended but the Minister refused to do so. Thus when more time was allowed, some architects complained that they had employed extra draughtsmen at additional cost to meet the original deadline. See, in particular, 'Minutes of an adjourned Meeting of the Council of the New

Zealand Institute of Architects' held at the Institute's Rooms, Wellington, on Wednesday May 3rd 1911 at 10.30 am', 'NZIA Minute Book "2" 1911-1915', vol. 3, p.18, Victoria University of Wellington.

77 Dominion, 7 April 1911, p.2.

78 Ibid.

79 See 'Chronicle of Proceedings, N.Z.I.A.', The New Zealand Institute of Architects Journal of Proceedings, vol. 1, no.1, April 1912, p.39.

80 The Australian Institutes' complained about the Australian government's refusal to disclose who the assessor would be and the low premiums offered. See D. Johnson, The Architecture of Walter Burley Griffin, South Melbourne, 1977, p.72.

81 They were the Wellington Association of Architects (formed 1892), the Canterbury Association of Architects (formed 1872), the Otago Institute (formed 1902) and the Auckland and Southland associations.

82 See Minutes of an adjourned meeting of the Council of the New Zealand Institute of Architects held at the Institutes rooms, Wellington, on Wednesday May 3rd, 1911 at 10.30 a.m.', N Z I A Minute Book "2" 1911-15', vol.3, p.16, held by Victoria University of Wellington Library.

83 Dominion, 12 April 1911, p.8.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid, p.6.

87 Ibid, 7 April 1911, p.2.

88 Ibid.

89 See Ibid, 10 April 1911, p.6. The Government Buildings, Christchurch, 1911-13, were designed by J. C. Maddison and the Public Trust Office, Auckland, 1911, by Hoggard and Prouse.

90 Evening Post, 28 September 1911, p.6.

91 Campbell to Under-secretary of Public Works, W1, 24/26, Part 1.

92 The number of N.Z.I.A. members is calculated from the 'List of Members', The New Zealand Institute of Architects Journal of Proceedings, April 1912, vol.1, no.1, pp.4-5, and excludes the eight architects who

tendered their resignations in late 1911/ early 1912 and the 4 honorary members. The number of N.Z.I.A. competitors was calculated from the list of competitors published in A Selection of Competitive Designs... Wellington, N.Z., Wellington, n.d., unpaginated.

93 They were J.Charlesworth (Fellow), F. Penty (Fellow), E. M. Blake (Fellow), J. S. Swan (Fellow), W. Turnbull (Fellow) and C. A. Lawrence (Associate). See 'Minutes of an Ordinary Meeting of the Council of the New Zealand Institute of Architects held in the Institute's rooms Wellington on Friday the 15th. December 1911 at 10.30 a. m. immediately following the Special Meeting', NZIA Minute Book "2" 1911-15', vol. 3, p.52, Victoria University of Wellington Library.

94 They were J. Rennie (Fellow) and F. H. Swan (Associate). See Minutes of the Council of the New Zealand Institute of Architects held at the Institutes rooms Wellington on Wednesday the 14th. Day of February, 1912 at 10.30 a.m. immediately following the special meeting.' 'NZIA Minute Book "2" 1911-15', vol.3, p.58, Victoria University of Wellington Library.

95 'Minutes ... Friday the 15th. December, 1911 ...', p.52, Victoria University of Wellington Library.

96 Ibid, p.54.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

99 See the list of registered members in 'Minutes of a Meeting of the Council of the New Zealand Institute of Architects held at the Registered Office 153 Featherston St. Wellington, on Wednesday the 7th October 1914 at 2. 30 p.m.', NZIA Minute Book "2" 1911-1915', vol. 3, pp. 173-175, Victoria University of Wellington Library.

100 See 'Minutes of an adjourned meeting of the Council of the N.Z.I.A. held at the Institutes Rooms Wellington, on Thursday 1st of August, 1912 at 3.30 p.m.', 'NZIA Minute Book "2" 1911-1915', vol. 3, p.80, Victoria University of Wellington Library.

101 See Dominion, 5 August 1942, p.6. Other obituaries make no mention of his membership of either Institute.

102 See Auckland Star, 10 October 1911, p.7.

- 103 See Dominion, 30 September 1911, p.6.
- 104 'New Parliament Buildings', Progress, vol. VIII, no. 3, November 1912, p.128.
- 105 Vernon's own work was sparingly ornamented but he admired the richly decorated buildings by his predecessor, Barnet. See Peter Moroney, 'Walter Vernon: A Change in the Style of Government Architecture', Australian Art and Architecture: Essays Presented to Bernard Smith, (Anthony Bradley and Terry Smith eds.), Melbourne, 1980, p.49.
- 106 The benches are also arranged in this fashion in the designs submitted by Thomas Turnbull and Son and J. Seddon, H.S. Morran and R. B. Owen, Hugh C. Grier-son, F. MacDonald and William Dunning, Edmund Anscombe, W.O. Beere and J. E. Greenish, W. N. Page, E. M. Blake and J. Bennie.
- 107 W. F. C. Vine, 'John Campbell: F.R.I.B.A.' (Sheppard collection notes), p. 3.
- 108 See Public Works Department Map Register 1912, folio 86.
- 109 See P.W.D. 31531.
- 110 See, for example, The Official New Zealand Year-book 1913, Wellington, 1913, p. 11.
- 111 Vine, p.3.
- 112 See, for example, Dominion, 6 October 1911, p.6.
- 113 'New Zealand Parliamentary Buildings Wellington (First Portion). Schedule of Quantities of the Several Works to be executed in the erection of the proposed new buildings in accordance with plans and specifications', MS Papers 1331, Folder 1, New Zealand Ministry of Works Collection, p.21.
- 114 Ibid, p. 22.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 Otago Daily Times, 4 October 1911, p.4. This article mentions a Gothic Design by 'Troup and Vaury (?)'. If it was indeed a Gothic design then clearly 3 designs in that idiom were submitted. Note, however, that Gordon Troup, George Troup: Architect and Engineer, Palmerston North, 1982, p.72 mentions only one Gothic design created by his father.
- 117 W 17/19.
- 118 Ibid.

119 Ibid.

120 Murdoch's Provisional Parliament House was constructed after attempts to organise a competition for a permanent building in 1914 and 1916 were aborted. See D. I. McDonald, 'Architect, J. S. Murdoch and the Provisional Parliament House', Canberra Historical Journal, no. 15, pp. 18-26. Many New Zealand architects applied to the Public Works Department for competition programmes for the proposed competitions. See P.W. 24/373. If, however, Campbell intended to enter the competition he did not make official application to the Public Works Department for a copy of the programme.

121 £151, 639 is the contract price noted in 'New Zealand Parliamentary Buildings .. Schedule of Quantities ...', MS Papers 1331, Folder 1, New Zealand Ministry of Works Collection, unpaginated leaf inside back cover. Note, however, that Wilson, p. 321, states that the contract price was £303, 278. 48.

122 See N.Z.P.D., vol. 160, 1912, p. 213.

123 See 'New Zealand Building Stone', N. Z. Building Progress, vol. XV, January 1919, p.328.

124 W1 24/26, Part 2, Campbell to the Under-secretary of Public Works, 28/9/13.

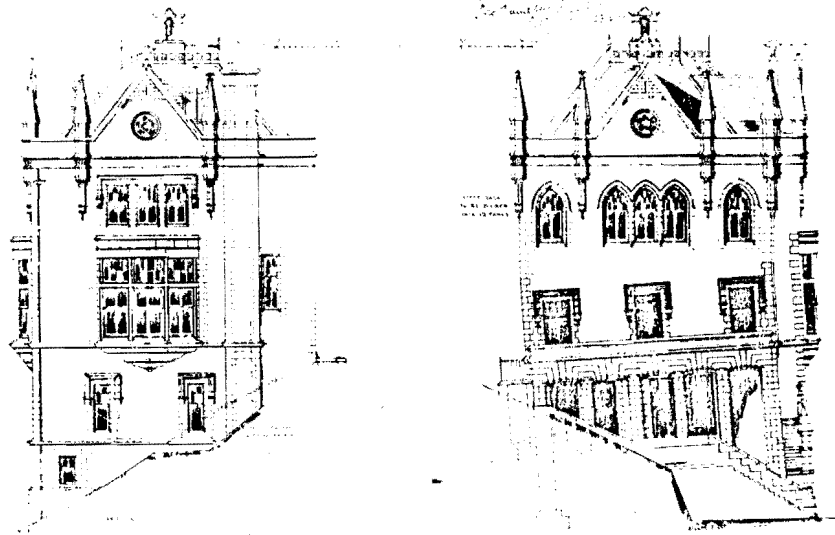
125 'In 1951 the Prime Minister asked if members would support the completion of the building at a probable cost of \$2 million'. Wilson, p. 328.

126 These options are outlined in the Ministry of Works Information Leaflet no.14, Additions to Parliament Buildings, n.p. 1969, p.8.

127 The circular form of the building was, of course, suggested by Lutyens. See Robert Grant Irving, Indian Summer, Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi, New Haven and London, 1981, p.295.

WILLIAM DOUGLASS
ARCHITECT, NEW BRITAIN, CT.
SCHOOL & CONFERENCE HOUSE

706



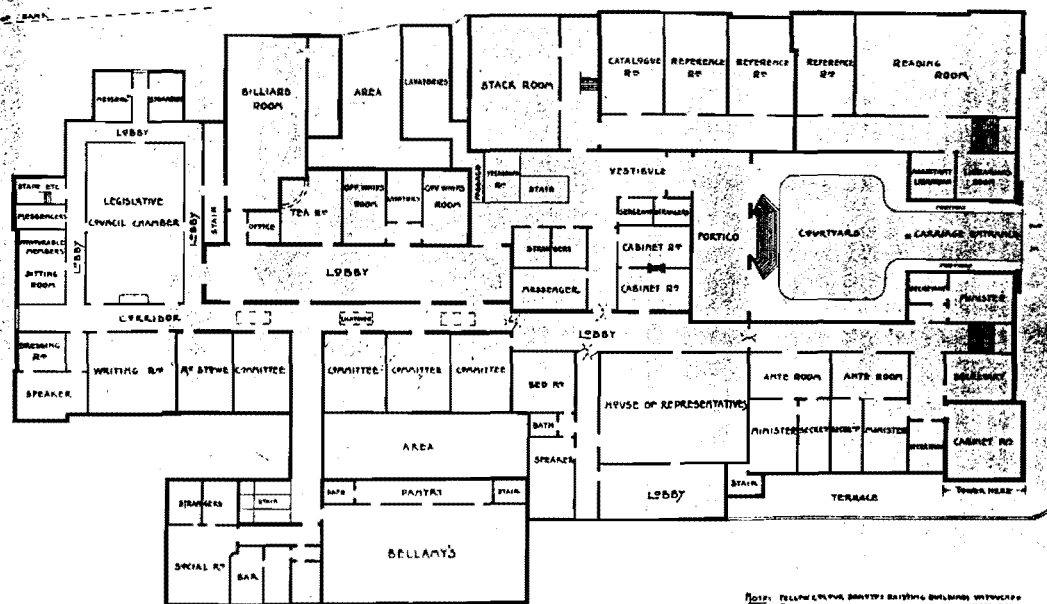
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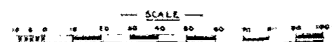
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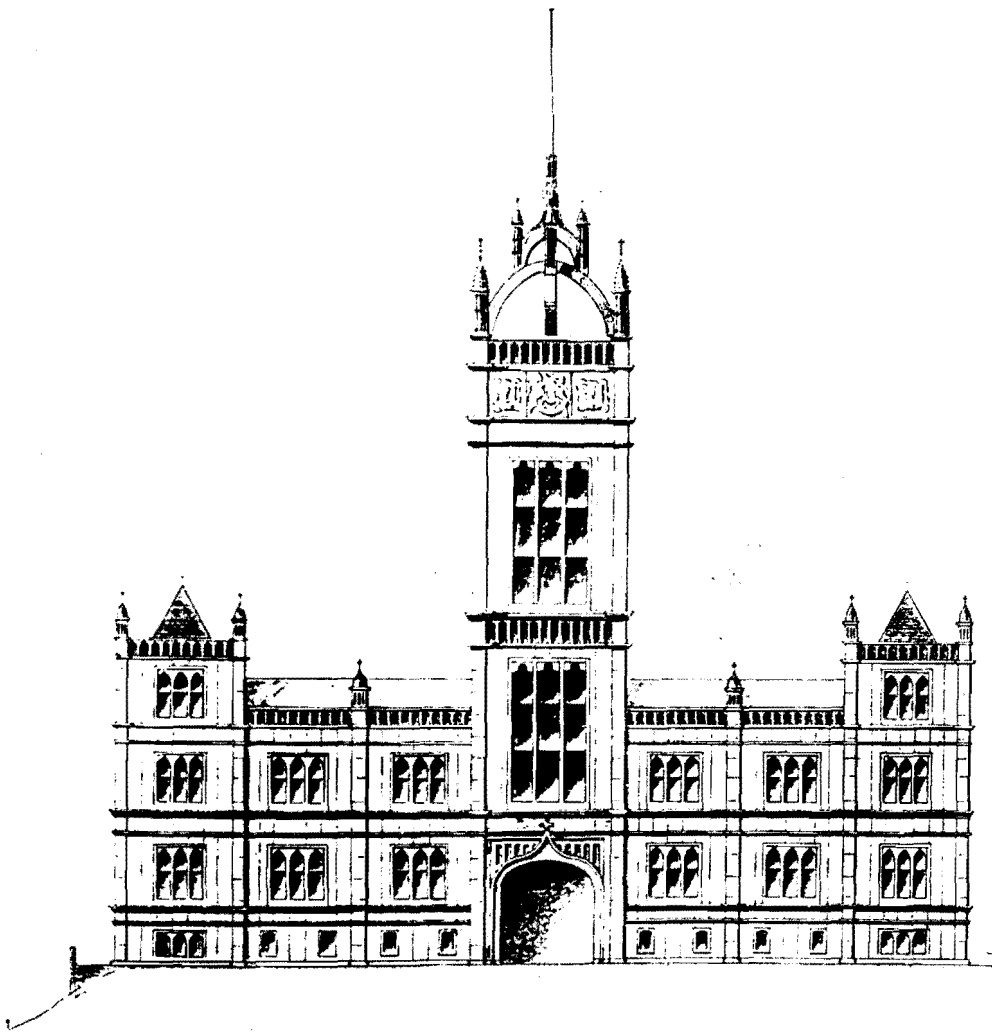
SCALE 1/4" = 1 FOOT.

PA 3374
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NOTE: FOLLOW UP ON SUBJECTS LISTING BULLHOUND WATCHDOG
BULLDOG - NEW YORK
PINE - NEW YORK



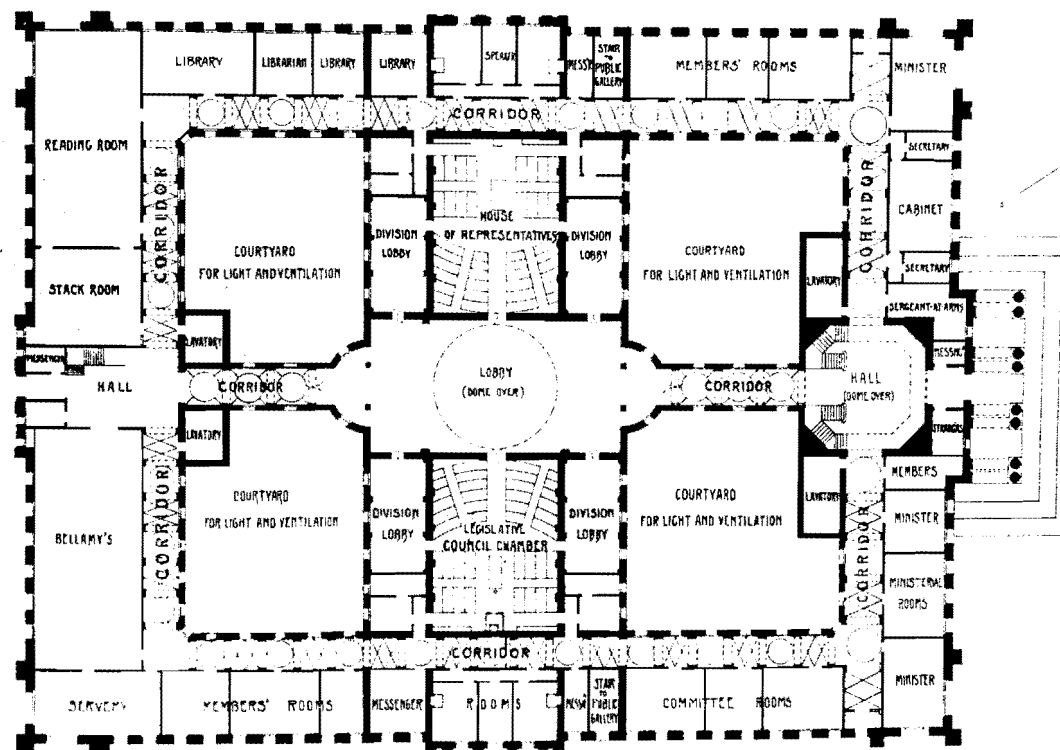


ROUGH SKETCH OF
ELEVATION TO MOLESWORTH STREET
SCALE 32' TO 1"

SKETCH PLAN PROPOSED PARLIAMENTARY BUILDINGS

ON GOVERNMENT HOUSE SITE

SKILL 180



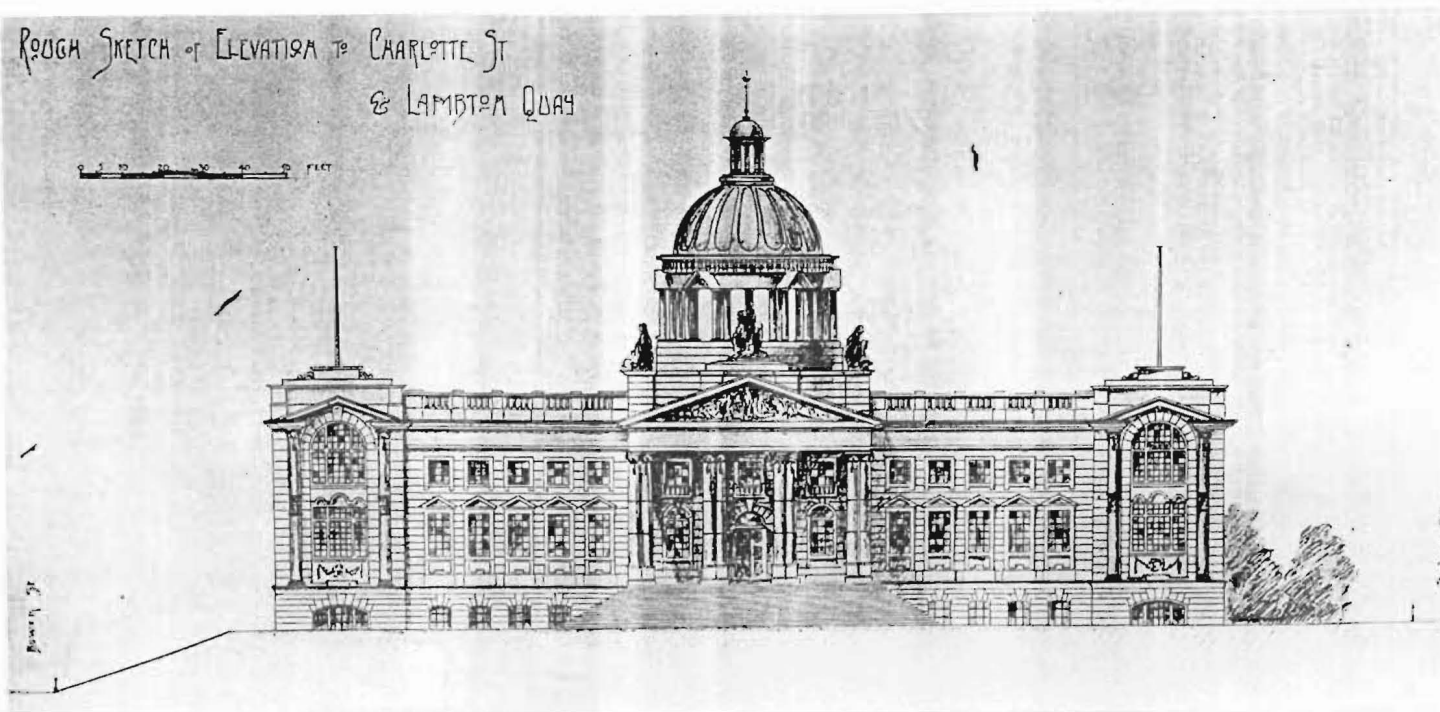
PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR

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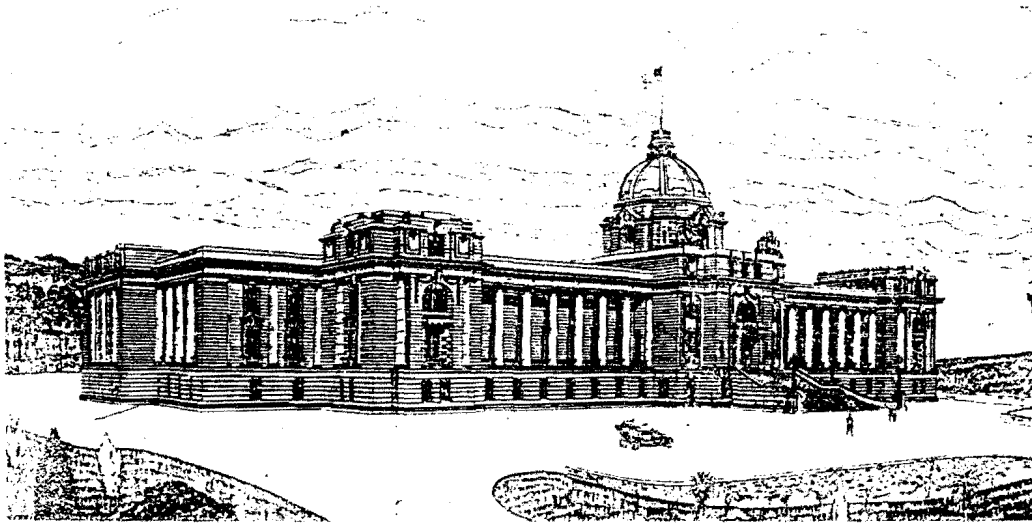
ROUGH SKETCH OF ELEVATION TO CHARLOTTE ST
& LAMBTON QUAY

0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

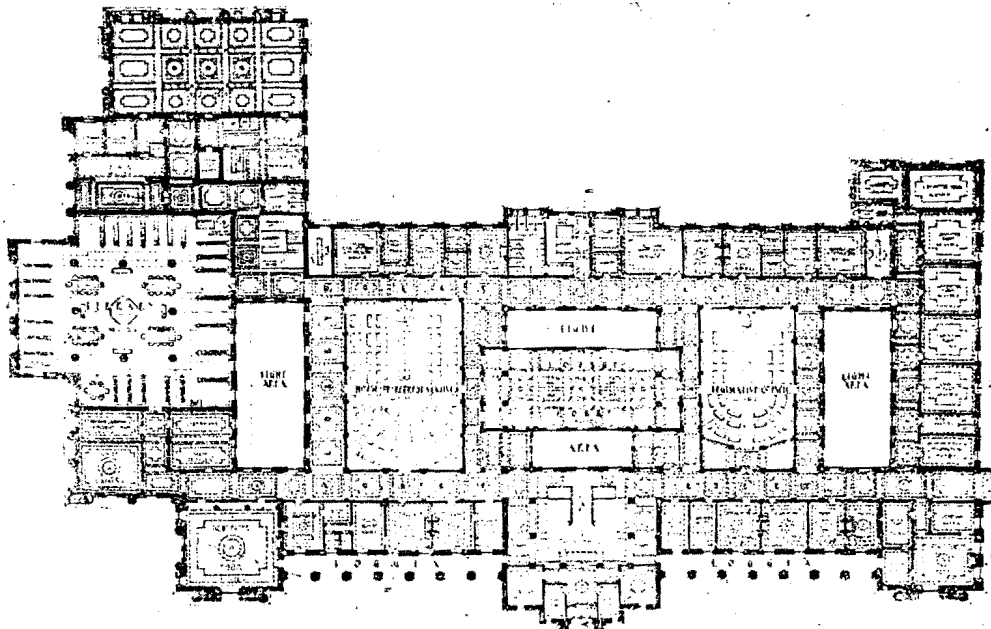


FIRST PRIZE (£1000)

DESIGN BY MESSRS J. CAMPBELL, F.R.I.B.A., F.N.Z.I.A., AND C. PATON, WELLINGTON



PERSPECTIVE SKETCH

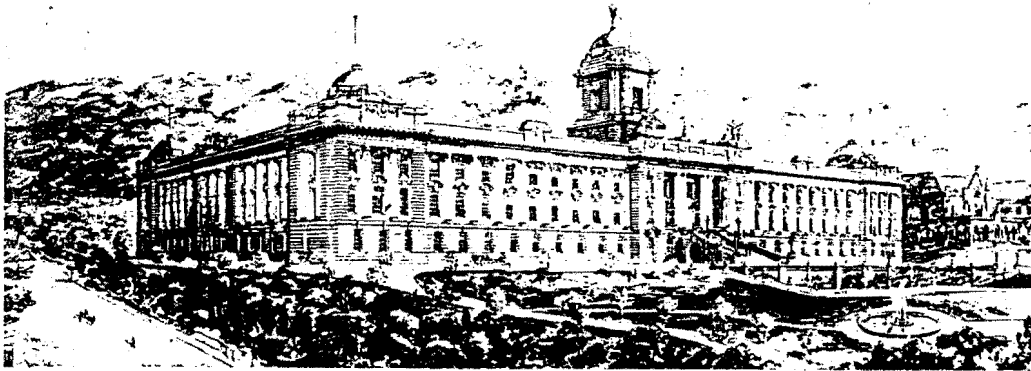


91

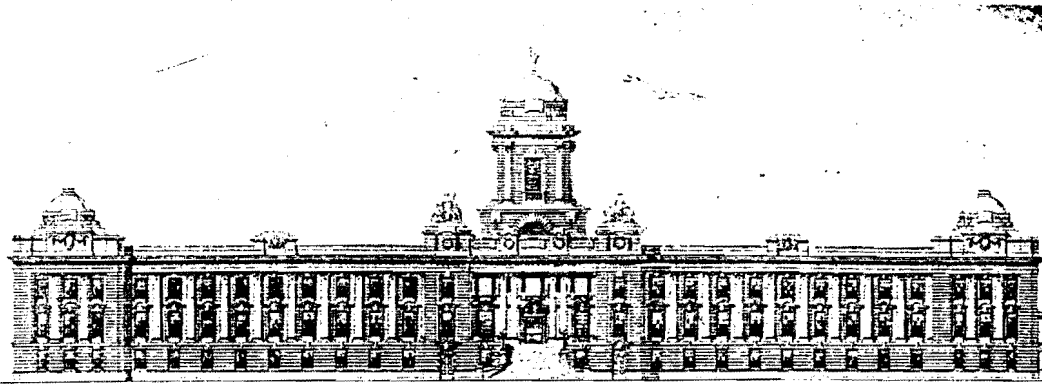
PRINCIPAL FLOOR PLAN

FOURTH PRIZE (£200)

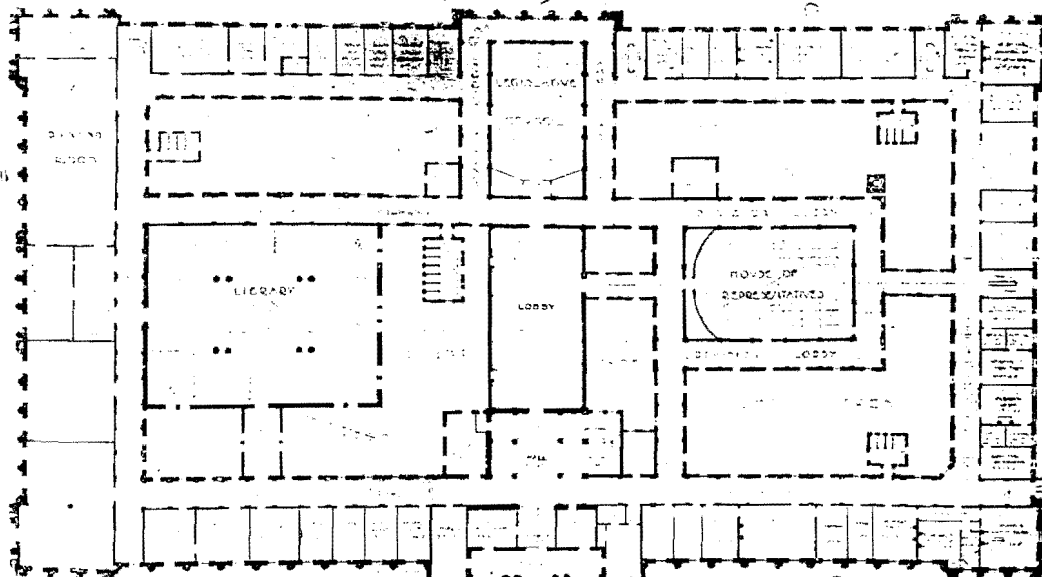
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PERSPECTIVE



EAST ELEVATION

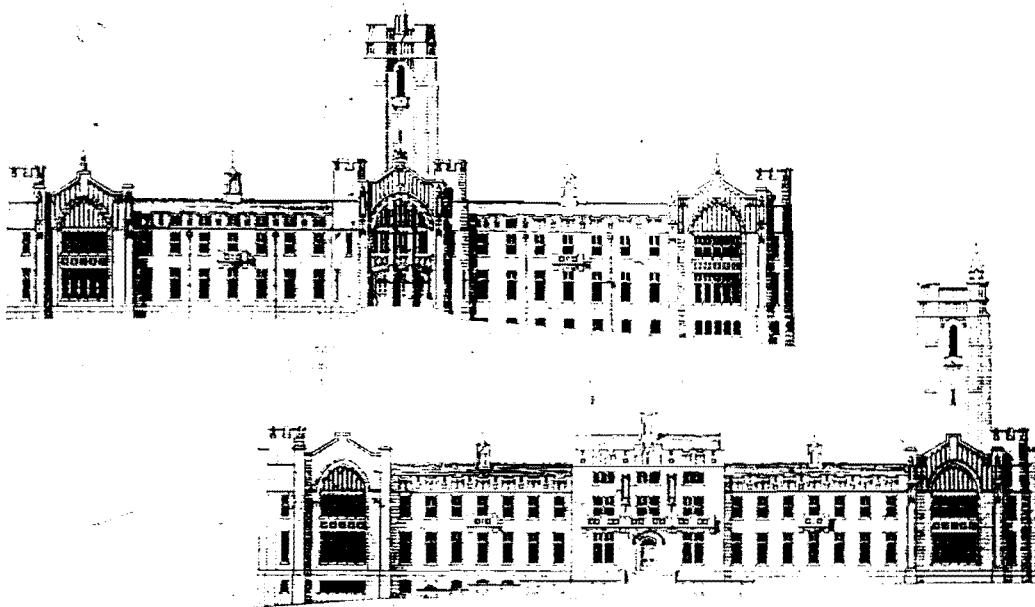


PRINCIPAL OR FIRST FLOOR PLAN

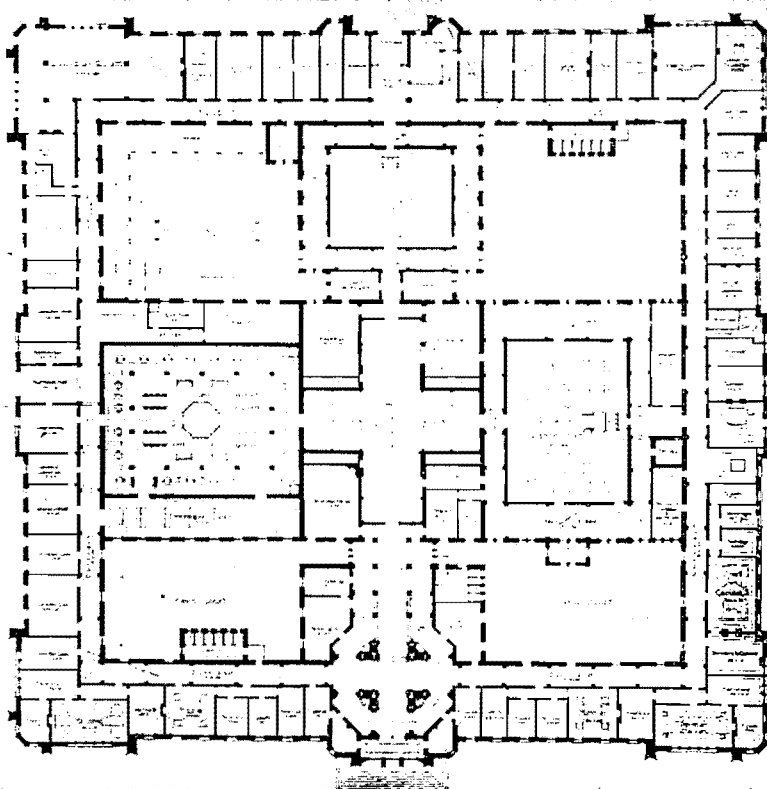


FIFTH IN ORDER OF MERIT

DESIGN BY G. A. TROUP, B.R.L.A., ENGLAND, AND W. GRAY YOUNG, A.N.Z.L.A., WELLINGTON

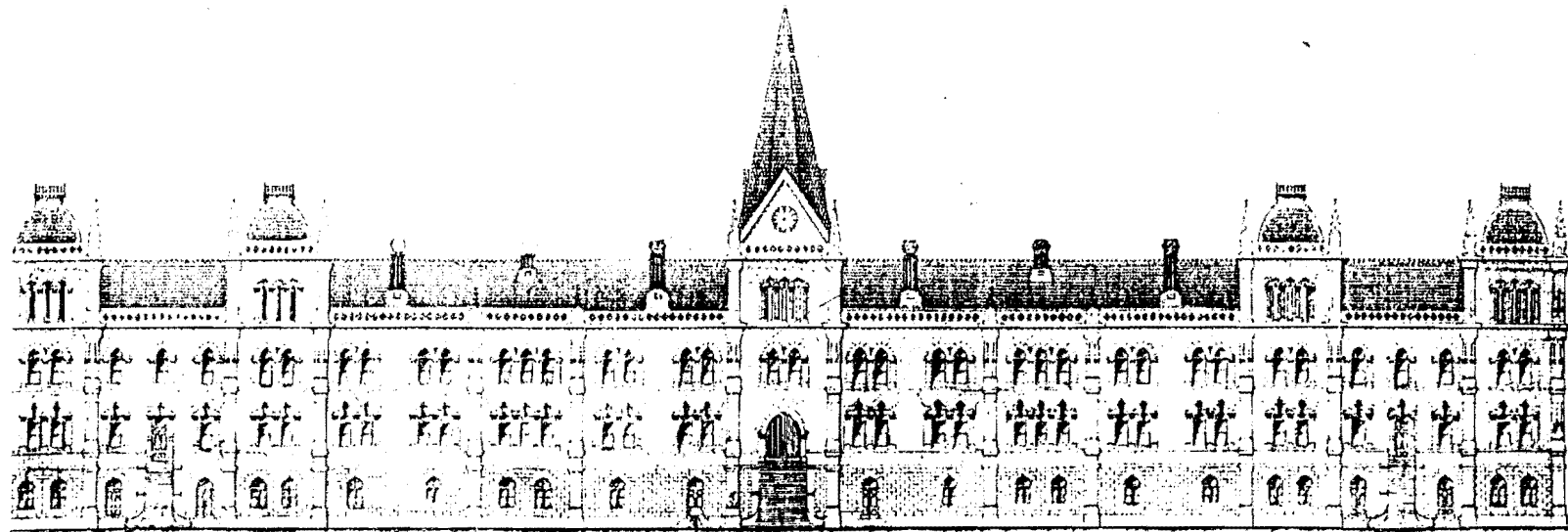


ELEVATIONS



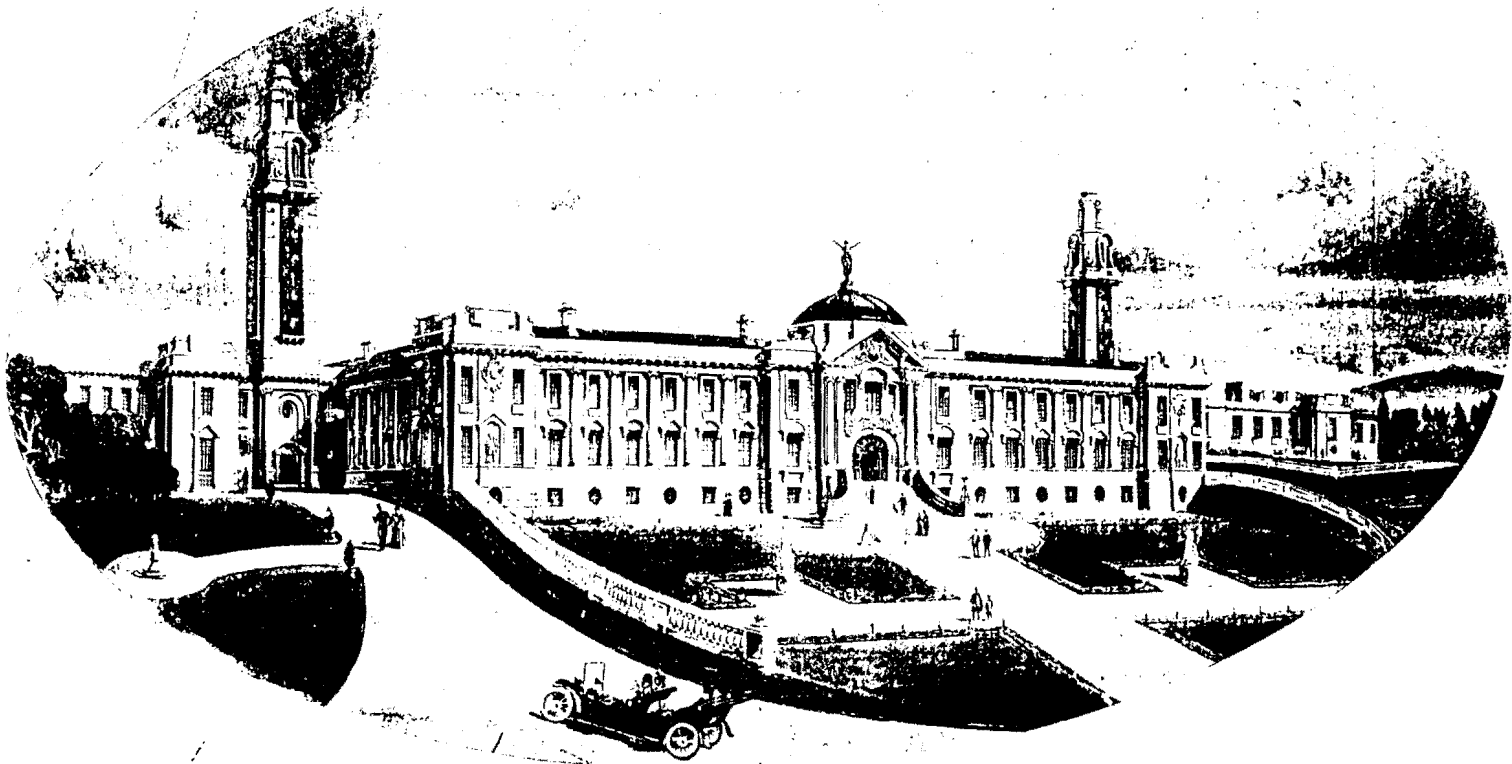
GROUND FLOOR PLAN

DESIGN
BY ALEX. DOUGLAS SPIERS, PICTON



EAST ELEVATION

NINTH IN ORDER OF MERIT
DESIGN BY MESSRS. D. McDONALD AND WM. DUNNING, DUNDEE



PERSPECTIVE SKETCH

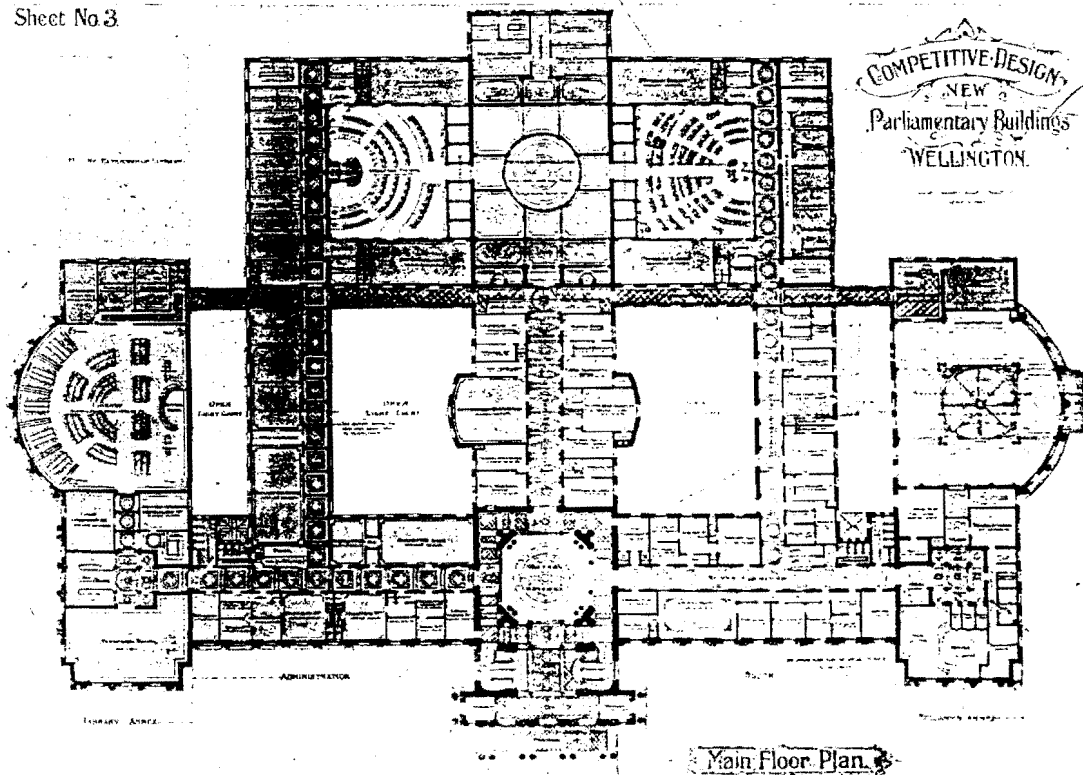
(This design is the one referred to as No. 26 in the Assessor's Award of 1901.)

DESIGN
BY EDMUND ANSCOMBE, A.N.Z.I.A., DUNEDIN



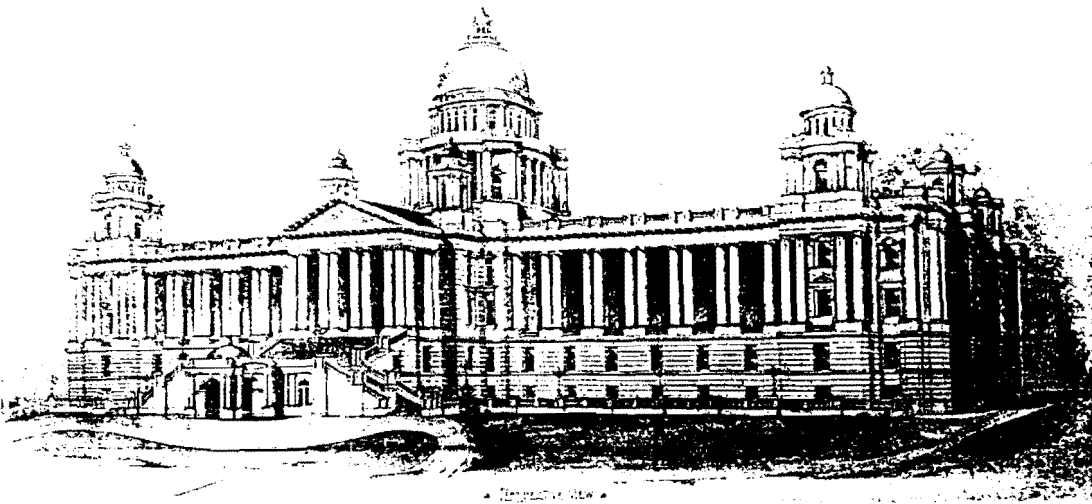
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Sheet No 3



DESIGN

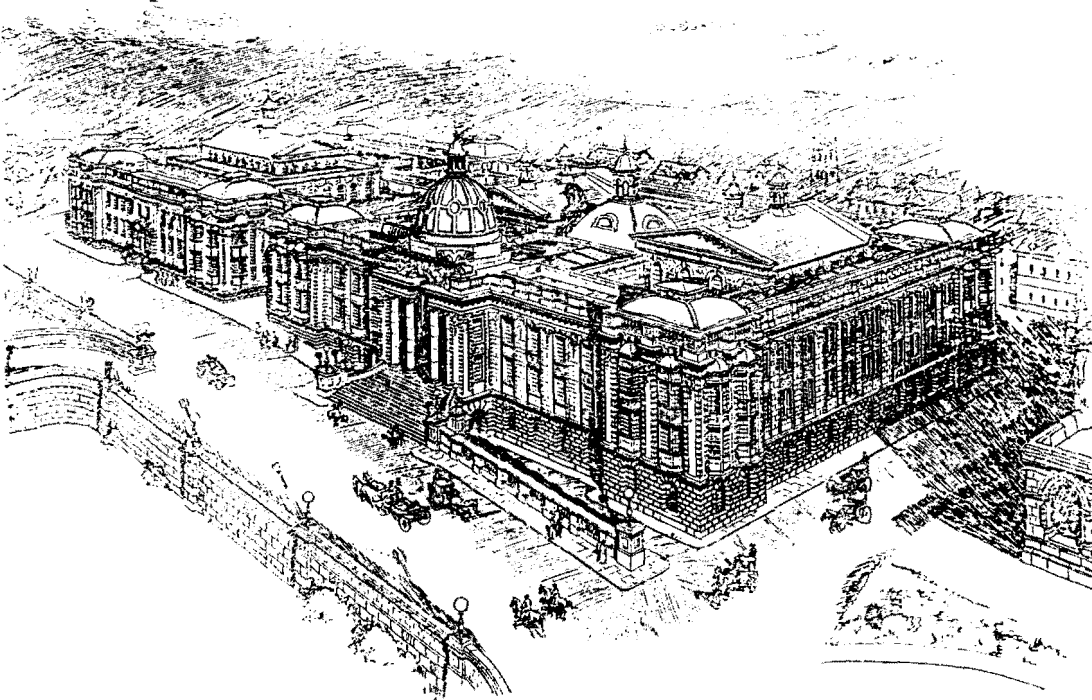
BY J. CHARLESWORTH, R.N.Z.L.A., WELLINGTON



PERSPECTIVE SKETCH

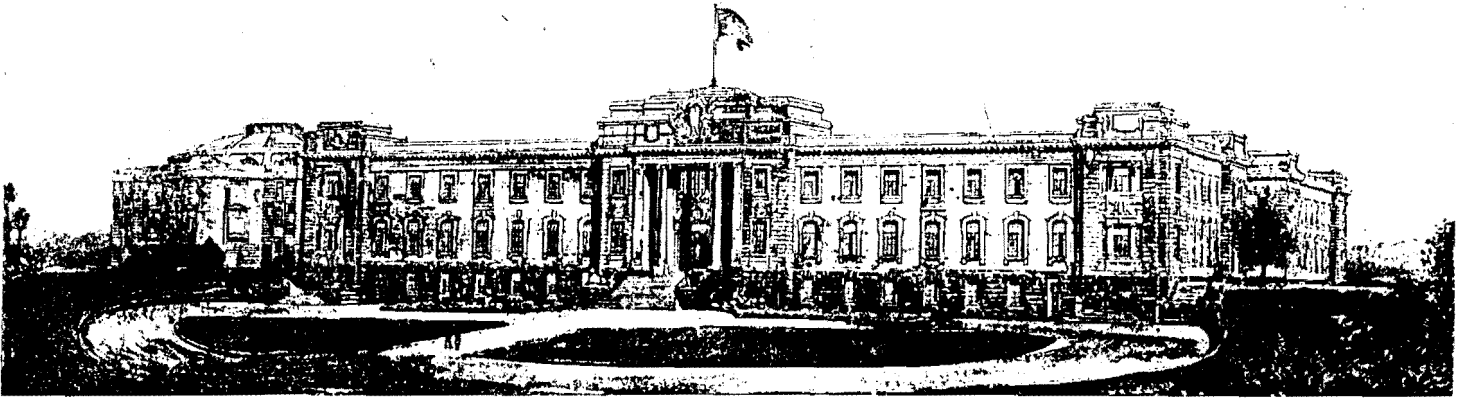
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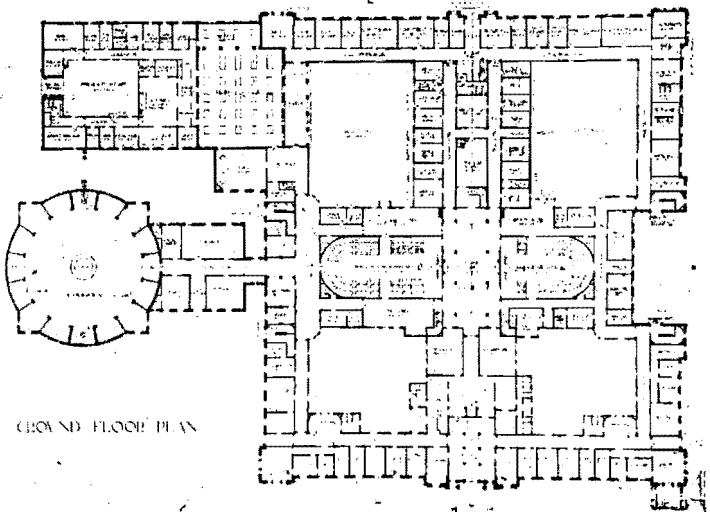


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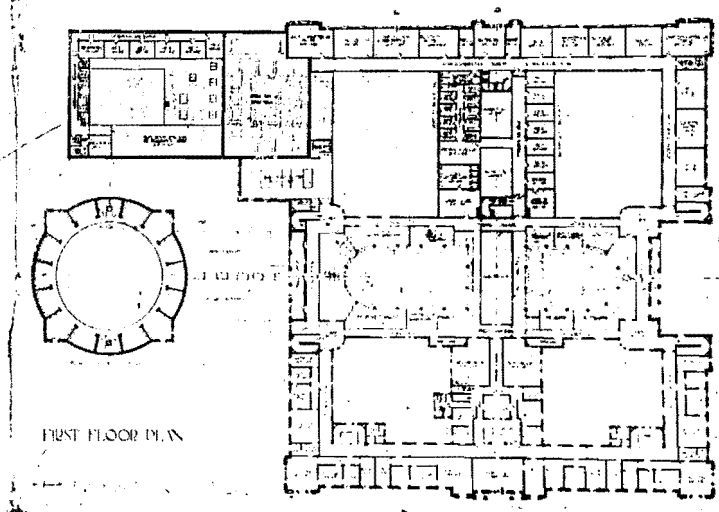
FIGURE IN ORDER OF MERIT
DESIGNED BY MESSRS. S. HURST SEAGER, PHILIP A. PENZANCE, AND G. A. J. HART, ARCHT.
CHRISTCHURCH



PERSPECTIVE



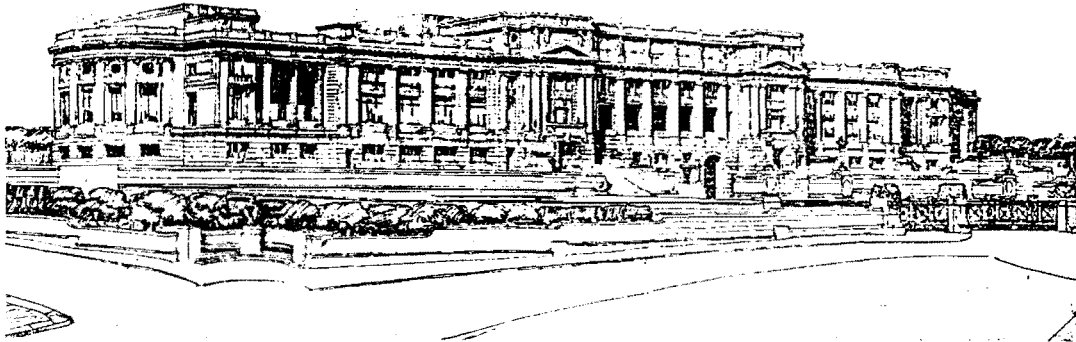
GROUND FLOOR PLAN



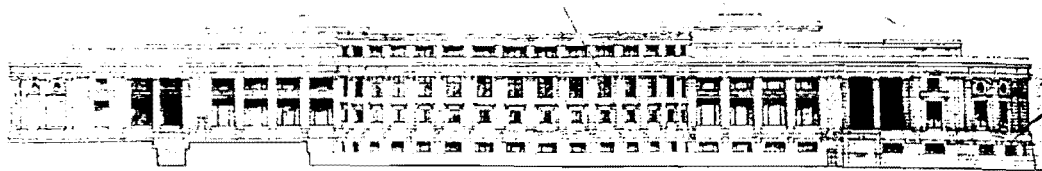
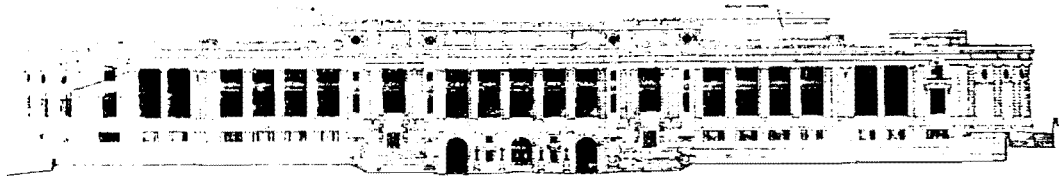
FIRST FLOOR PLAN

THIRD PRIZE (£300)

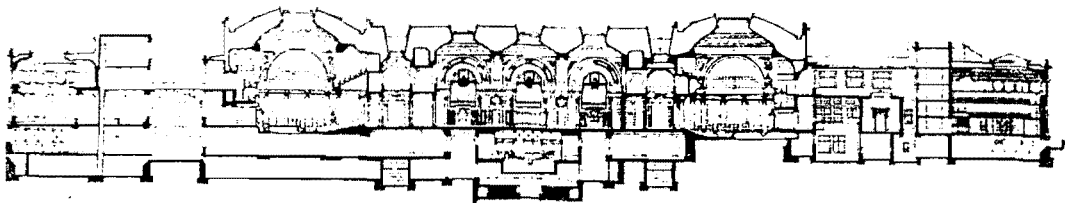
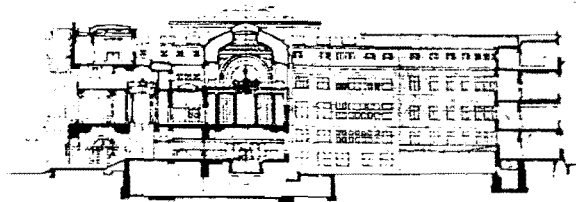
DESIGN BY WM. H. GUMMER, AUCKLAND



PERSPECTIVE SKETCH



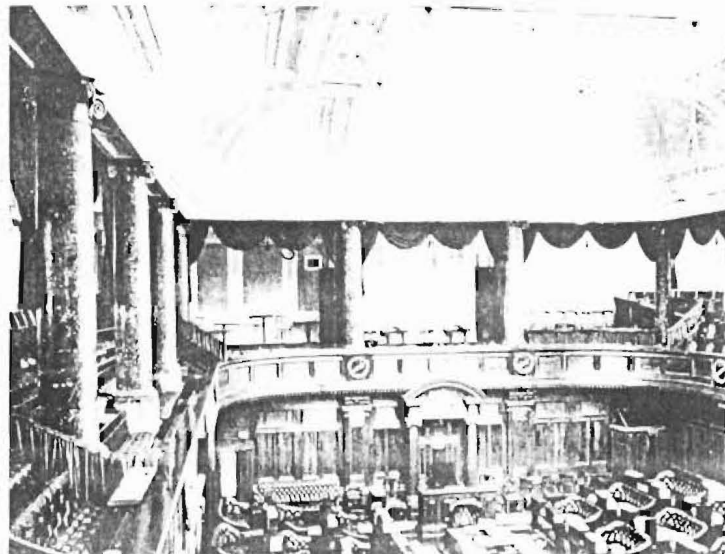
FRONT AND WEST ELEVATIONS



SECTIONS



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Conclusion

At first reading, Campbell's contribution to New Zealand architecture might seem to be overshadowed by that of some of his contemporaries. Troup's Dunedin Railway Station, 1900-06, for example, has been described as 'the outstanding monument of Edwardian architecture in New Zealand'.¹ Clearly, too, Seager's Christchurch Municipal Council Chambers, 1885-87, overshadowed from the very beginning many of Campbell's early Queen Anne buildings and W. J Trigg and B. S. Corlett's Bath-House, Rotorua, 1904, eclipsed all his small timber structures. However, had Parliament Buildings, Wellington, been completed to Campbell's design his reputation would no doubt be much enhanced. In any case, he erected many Imperial Baroque buildings of very great merit and his position as Government Architect of New Zealand for thirty-three years ensures for him an important place in New Zealand's architectural history.

In any assessment of Campbell's work the conditions under which he worked as a state employee need to be taken into account. Government policy in erecting public buildings was uncompromising. In 1911 the Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, stated that

while the Government should not waste too much time on externals, they should at least see that all public buildings were not less presentable than buildings erected by private citizens.²

The implication of this statement is that the government should follow the lead of private citizens, not anticipate it. Moreover, public money should not be spent on unnecessarily ornate buildings or gambled on risky, innovative designs. Thus Campbell was afforded little opportunity for architectural experimentation. In any case, this was the obverse of his talent as an architect: an intuitive sense of the way in which architectural elements could be combined, using British models as a starting point, to create his own impressive designs.

In both his approach to design and his buildings Campbell invites comparison with Troup. Campbell designed a much wider range of building types than his counterpart in the Railways Department, but it is hardly coincidental that both state employees are known primarily for their Imperial Baroque architecture. Baroque was, it would seem, the architectural style of both branches of government, not just the architectural division of the Public Works Department under Campbell's aegis.

Thus Troup incorporates in his Dunedin Railway Station design, 1900-6, many of the elements Campbell employed, such as Flemish gables, rusticated surrounds, scroll gables, and oversize keystones. Admittedly, however, some of these elements (especially Flemish gables) are a feature of Campbell's work of the 1890s, not the first decade of the twentieth-century itself.³ By the time the Dunedin Railway Station was completed, Campbell

employed many elements which are ultimately derived from English Baroque architecture of the seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries rather than Dutch buildings. Troup's source for some of the elements employed in his design may well have been buildings created by English architects (especially works by Edward Mountford such as Sheffield Town Hall, 1890-97) but their ultimate derivation is nevertheless Flemish.

Indeed, Campbell may well have been more committed to the construction of Imperial Baroque buildings than Troup. The stylistic development of Troup's oeuvre is more difficult to trace than Campbell's because Troup erected so few major buildings in permanent materials. Most of his oeuvre consists of comparatively small provincial and suburban Railway Stations. Some indication of Troup's approach to architectural design during the Edwardian era can, however, be discerned from his various entries in the competition for the design of Parliament Buildings.

Troup maintained that he adopted the English Renaissance (or Imperial Baroque) style in designing one of those entries because

Monumental character and dignified restraint should characterise all national buildings and of all the styles none do so better than English Renaissance⁴

However, he also submitted a Gothic design. By contrast both Campbell's entries are Imperial Baroque in style and by 1911, when the Parliament Buildings competition was held, Campbell seems to have had little interest in the erection of public buildings in the

Gothic style. He is also unlikely, given the exuberance of much of his work, to have found the 'dignified restraint' of some English Renaissance architecture to be its most appealing characteristic.

Whatever the relationship between Troup and Campbell's work, Campbell is clearly a conservative figure in New Zealand's architectural history. Like Sir Reginald Blomfield in England and Cecil Wood in New Zealand, Campbell was committed to the use of historical styles in designing buildings. Thus it is hardly surprising that he was dismayed by some of the works designed by his successor, John T. Mair, Government Architect between 1923 and 1941.⁵ For Campbell and others of his generation, ornament transformed a mere building into architecture and thus the 'modern' buildings erected by the Ministry of Works and Development did not appeal to him.

Campbell can also be seen as a 'conservative' figure in other ways. While architects of later generations became interested in the development of a peculiarly New Zealand style of architecture, Campbell's designs have no indigenous character. Because Campbell believed that the use of timber mitigated against the construction of architecturally 'impressive or dignified' buildings he stands outside that whole generation of New Zealand architects who saw in timber the starting point for the creation of a national style.

This is not, however, surprising. The development of an indigenous style of architecture was not considered by

most New Zealand architects of Campbell's generation. Seager, who had spent five years in Australia (1890 -95) at a time when 'architects such as Barnet, Kemp, Sulman and others, seriously discussed the possibility of creating an Australian style of Architecture'⁶ broached the topic of a national style in New Zealand in 1900.⁷ However, other New Zealand architects appear to have been little concerned with such issues.

Campbell, like other colonial architects of his generation, was in fact pragmatic in approach to design and little concerned with theoretical issues. His surviving papers deal almost exclusively with the practical problems of erecting buildings and the administrative duties in running a large office. Indeed, it was his business-like and pragmatic approach to his job, rather than an interest in architectural theory, which ensured his success as Government Architect.

Other links between Campbell's work and that of other colonial architects are also apparent. In designing government buildings predominantly in the classical idiom Campbell perpetuates a New Zealand tradition. Although Clayton designed some Gothic works (and frequently used Gothic elements in many of his designs) most of his buildings are classical. The 'battle of the styles' which was fought in Britain in the design of the Foreign Office in 1856, did not recur in the design of central government buildings in New Zealand. Provincial Government Architects, such as B. W. Mountfort and Thomas Cane, designed Gothic government buildings but in general

central government structures were designed in the classical idiom.

However, while Campbell's continued reliance on British models in designing buildings in New Zealand is consistent with the work of his New Zealand contemporaries, it contrasts sharply with progressive developments in other parts of the British Empire. The Federation style of Australia, Dominion style of Canada, Indo-Saracenic architecture of India and Anglo-Dutch buildings of South Africa have no obvious parallel in Campbell's oeuvre.

Although Government Architects of Campbell's generation overseas were inspired by British architectural models, they nevertheless attempted to give their buildings a distinctive national inflection. Of the Government Architects working in Australia, Campbell's work is perhaps most like that of James Barnet (1827-1904), Colonial Architect of New South Wales between 1862 and 1890. Barnet's buildings predate Vernon's attempts to establish a distinctively Australian style of government architecture. A fellow Scot, Baroque worked predominantly in the classical idiom, designing government buildings with some Baroque elements. His Police Station, George Street North, Sydney,⁸ for example, incorporates the same heavily rusticated elements that Campbell used in the first decade of the twentieth-century.

However, in many of the other colonies Government Architects were, like Vernon, attempting to develop a

distinctive national style for government buildings in their country. In the work of Thomas Fuller (1823 - 98), Chief Architect for the Canadian Department of Public Works between 1881 and 1896, there is an attempt to develop a peculiarly Canadian (Dominion) style of architecture. His buildings constitute 'a distinctive combination of French Renaissance composition and High Victorian Gothic detailing',⁹ already evident in Fuller and Jones's Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1859-67. Fuller's successor, David Ewart (1841-1921), erected similar buildings, expressive of the French and British origins of Canadian settlement. In India James Ransome (1865-1944), Chief consulting architect to the Indian government, worked in a wide range of styles but his successor, John Begg (1866-1937), began to integrate indigenous Indian forms into his work.

But while Campbell's work differs from that of his contemporaries in other British colonies there is a common approach to the design of government buildings throughout the British empire. Government Architects in the larger colonies compiled a repertoire of elements which they used repeatedly, thus enabling them to quickly design the large number of works required of them. Thus, while open-bed pediments recur in Campbell's work, plain brick gables recur in Vernon's.

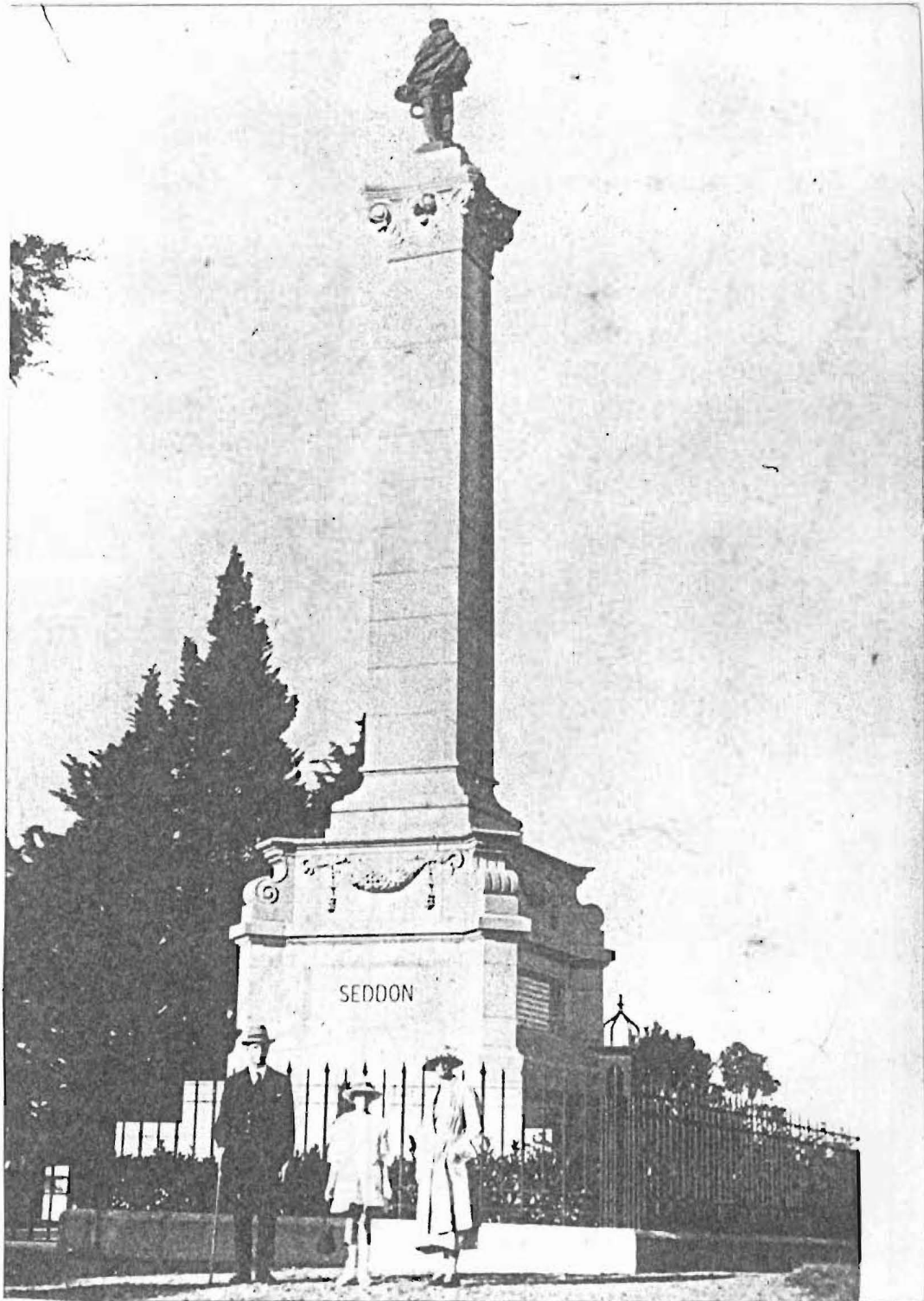
'A quiet and retiring man',¹⁰ Campbell nevertheless produced designs of such ostentation and vigour that there can be little doubt that he intended that his

buildings should be noticed. The dichotomy between his personal character and his public architecture suggests that primarily he sought to give expression in his buildings to notions of state authority rather than his own personality. The very anonymity of other designers within the department reiterates the importance of the creation of a recognisable government style during his term of office, instead of the personal creativity of individual architects.

In 1942 Campbell was buried in a simple grave in the Bolton Street Cemetery, Wellington. However, the monument which he designed for his former Minister, Richard John Seddon, erected in 1908¹¹ in the same cemetery, more accurately reflects his architectural achievement. On top
102 of a large column Campbell placed an allegorical figure of a Roman Emperor, created by noted British sculptor Henry Poole (1873-1928).¹² He thereby portrays Seddon as a statesman of the British Empire by reference to the Roman Empire. In designing the monument Campbell made the same imperial link evident in the work of Baker and Lutyens, tapping the historical connection the British perceived between their own Empire and that of great imperial powers before them. While Campbell did not produce work of the same calibre as that of Lutyens or Baker, he was one of the most talented and inventive proponents of Imperial Baroque architecture to work in New Zealand.

Footnotes

- 1 John Stacpoole and Peter Beaven, New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970, Wellington, 1970, p. 44.
- 2 Lyttelton Times, 21 November 1911, p.3.
- 3 With the notable exception of the Government Buildings, Napier.
- 4 W17/19 report no.9 accompanying Troup, Young and Robb's competition entry, p. 2.
- 5 Information: conversation with Mr D. S. G. Marchbanks, 23 May 1986.
- 6 See I. J. Lochhead, 'The Architectural Art of Samuel Hurst Seager', Art New Zealand 44, Spring 1987, pp. 92-99.
- 7 Peter Moroney, 'Walter Vernon: A Change in the Style of Government Architecture', Australian Art and Architecture : Essays Presented to Bernard Smith, (edited by Anthony Bradley and Terry Smith), Melbourne, 1980, p. 48.
- 8 Bernard Smith, 'Architecture in Australia', Historical Studies, vol. 14, no. 53, October 1969, p.90.
- 9 Douglas Richardson, 'Public Buildings' in Ontario Towns, Oberon, 1974, unpaginated, quoted in A. Thomas, 'Thomas Fuller (1823-98) and changing attitudes to Midievalism [sic] in Nineteenth-Century Architecture', Selected Papers from the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada: vol. 111, Ottawa, 1982, p.110.
- 10 Conversation with Mr D. S. G. Marchbanks, 23 May 1986.
- 11 W35/2 1375. Contract signed 7. 5. 08. Monument to be completed 7. 11. 08, See also W33 1375.
- 12 On Poole's authorship of the statue see Weekly Press, 21 June 1910, p.30.



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This bibliography is divided into two sections. The first section lists material pertaining to New Zealand's architecture and history. The second section lists material pertaining to Britain and some of the British colonies apart from New Zealand. Plans are dealt with in a separate section at the end of the bibliography.

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(Files are listed in numerical order. A brief title is given of each file to aid retrieval.)

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W1 24/26

Part O

Parliament Buildings

	Part 1	Parliament Buildings
W1 24/35	Part 1	Seacliff Mental Hospital 1894-191?
W1 24/45	Part 1	Avondale Lunatic Asylum 1914-20
W1 24/54	Part 1	Auckland Public Buildings 1913-31
W1 24/70	Part 1	Hokitika Government Buildings, Land and Legislation, 1906-13
W1 24/162	Part 1	Accommodation: Napier Government Centre, 1901-18
W1 24/188	Part 0 (C)	Government Printing Office: 1891-8
W1 24/225	Part 1	Tokanui Mental Hospital: Two Annexes
W1 24/225	Part 2	Tokanui Mental Hospital: 1915- October 1924

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W32	18282	Invercargill Police Station
W32	18518	Masterton Post Office
W32	18530	Petone Post Office
W32	18677	Dunedin Law Courts Contract
W32	18742	Opunake Post Office
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W32	21370	Lower Hutt Post Office Contract
W32	72159	Nelson Post Office, alterations and
W32	72503	Hastings Court House
W32	90686	Pahiatua Post Office
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		additions
W32	91956	Invercargill Police Station
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W33	1327	Hokitika Government Buildings
W33	1375	Seddon Memorial
W33	1401	Upper Hutt Post Office
W33	1422	New Plymouth Police Station
W33	1525	Wellington General Post Office
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National Archives now holds most original copies of surviving plans except some site plans retained by the Ministry of Works and Development because the original colouring is essential in interpreting them. These plans have not, however, been used in the preparation of this thesis.

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